

**PLOTTING CHRETIEN'S DOWNFALL**

**ELVIS ON TOP**

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

MARCH 31, 1997



## MURDER Mysteries



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of how the RCMP  
lost the cocaine,  
the cash — and  
the informants**

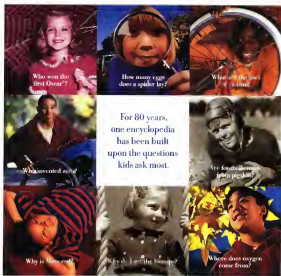
*By Paul Kaihla*

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# Maclean's This Week

CANADA'S  
WEEKLY  
NEWSMAGAZINE

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## Cover 16 Murder mysteries

A 10-month investigation by Maclean's uncovers an RCMP drug bust gone wrong. On the surface, it was the story of a 400 kg cocaine seizure. The truth is really involved: missing narcotics—and the murders of an innocent man and a police officer—three RCMP veterans



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John Charest's Conservative and the other opposition parties are bailing to convince voters that their policies are better than the official Opposition



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British Prime Minister John Major calls on election with the odds heavily against him. Poles show voters prefer the Labour opposition by a landslide

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With a near flawless performance, Elvis Costello captures his third world figure skating title in four years—even as critics cling that the starfighter's ability to attract



# From The Managing Editor

## Crooks are on the curriculum



**T**he 200 or so people who gathered for a panel discussion and dinner at venerable *Argosy* Hall in Toronto last week comprised an unlikely collection. There were scholars from Canada, the United States and Britain, politicians, policemen, judges, civil servants, forensic accountants, security chiefs for big companies and a sprinkling of investigative journalists. The occasion

was the official opening of York University's Jack and Mae Nathanson Centre for the Study of Organized Crime and Corruption. The centre, the first of its kind in Canada, was made possible by a gift of \$5 million from Mark Nathanson, who amassed his fortune in gold mining and corporate security systems. The only condition attached to his gift was that the centre be named in memory of his parents.

It was another manifestation of a new phenomenon in this country: Desperate universities are being forced to reach deep into the private sector for operating funds that governments are no longer able or willing to provide. Some universities are doing what professional sports do with their arenas, stadiums and tournaments—dividing benefits among their donors and "business" (and the right to put their name on a school or a facility for ever, in the case of weather domes, or in dividend coupons). The faculty of management at the University of Toronto has become the Joseph L. Rotman Centre for Management, thanks to a \$15-million donation from businessman Joseph Rotman. Rotman collected the same amount from entrepreneur Seymour Schickel when it agreed to rechristen his business school the Schickel School of Business. This name-selling is a slippery slope



Nathanson (right), partner Rad Stanley; study

The day may come when someone will be able to buy the right to put their names on entire institutions. Are we ready for *Stanford University of Montreal* or *Wal-Mart* (McGill University)?

Are we ready, for that matter, to welcome the study of organized crime and corruption as a legitimate university discipline and to treat crooks as worthy subjects for rigorous academic scrutiny, just like philosophers or poets? We used to assume that the police would look after criminals for us, but that comfortable assumption is no longer valid. Organized crime has become so sophisticated, so lucrative and so global that no mere national or regional police force can keep pace. The latest violence in Quebec, which claimed another two lives last week, is really a war between two international criminal organizations for control of the drug distribution business. In Maclean's cover story this week, Senior Writer Paul Kladis documents the RCMP's woes in trying to come to grips with an elusive, and deadly, cocaine conspiracy that stretched from Vancouver to Montreal. And law-enforcement experts say that our under-manned, overstretched police forces no longer make any real promise at being able to protect themselves, if they have to face their own security assets.

To root out fraud and other white-collar crimes, they have to have their own security assets. The new Nathanson Centre is intended to increase public understanding of organized crime and to help discover better ways to combat the sinister forces that pollute contemporary life. Of one do so, it will be \$5 million well invested.

*Leifing Hume*

Editor-in-chief Robert Levine is on vacation.

## Newsroom Notes:

### A fractured opposition

**I**n three days of public cynicism, I'm tough being a politician—and even tougher being a member of the opposition. Not only do Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and his ruling Liberals present an elusive target, but, as Ottawa Editor Anthony Wilson-Smith reveals in this week's Special Report, their political opponents are in disarray. "The Liberals



Wilson-Smith

have held the middle ground in part by borrowing elements from most of the other parties' programs," says Wilson-Smith. "And the other parties, in turn, are often too busy arguing with each other to form a united opposition."

Over the past decade, Wilson-Smith has covered elections in tough locations such as the former Soviet Union and Poland—as well as numerous Canadian campaigns. The greatest change, he notes, has been the fragmentation of Canada—and the corresponding fragmentation of the opposition to the point that there is no

longer a truly national alternative to the Liberals. The traditional parties are struggling to survive, in the case of the NDP, as Ottawa Correspondent John Galkin reports, leader Alexa McDonough faces the battle of her life as she fights for a seat in Halifax. Now, with no effective national opposition on the horizon, the coming campaign will likely consist of different battles—with conflicting messages—fought in divergent parts of the country. "The danger for the opposition," says Wilson-Smith, "is that the more they keep sending out different messages, the more they drown each other out—and that makes it less likely that voters will listen to any of them."

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Toronto: mega-plan for a megacity in mega-time

## Megacity questions

There to admit, you had me fooled. Recently, you did an article about Calgary that occupied its explanation and, except for a cheap shot about protestations, was suitably open-minded and fair (P16 top of the week). Cover, Feb. 20. It had none of the Beverly Hills-like characterization that your magazine usually uses in its subsequent articles about the West. That was until "The fight for Toronto" (Cover, March 17), which featured about 10 pages of boosterism for Toronto in the guise of an article about municipal reform. You even included an embarrassing, stomach-burning essay by Robert Fulford on the greatness of your city ("City of imagination"). Give us a break.

Edward Kwasnicki,  
Winnipeg

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

should be submitted to:  
Maclean's Magazine Editors  
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Tel: (416) 974-7770  
Or E-mail: letters@maclean.ca  
or: 763.224.4733@compuserve.com

Maclean's welcomes readers' views but letters may be edited for space and clarity. Please supply names, addresses and daytime telephone numbers. Subscribers may appear in Maclean's electronic files.

## Flagging support

In "Flocking together" (World, Feb. 10) you mention "the couple" in Florida who were ordered to take down the Canadian flag. My husband and I are "the couple" and I can assure you that, contrary to your article, we did pull the flag back up in front of our house. I just couldn't let everyone think Americans were so bad that we never did fly our flag again. We received so many letters from Americans in support of our flag that, three days after the initial story about us, we decided the feud we could do was to hang both the U.S. and Canadian flags side by side. During that very stressful episode last year, my husband and I received so little support from our Canadian neighbors, I wept over it. Americans responded by the hundreds. My phone never stopped. I received calls from Americans as far away as California, and letters—more than 100. Can you imagine how we felt? Having the American flag alongside ours was the least we could do.

Steenley J. Harris,  
Chalmers, Fla.

The overwhelling majority of citizens, including myself, who voted No to the megacity plan of the Mike Harris government do not understand anything about Toronto, local government or the democratic process. The megacity plan for a megacity in megatime does not make sense. In order to keep the promise of a 30 per cent personal income tax rebate, they are leaving Toronto apart. In the mind of the government, if the citizens are against their staged plans, they are considered obstructive, not citizens with informed opinions.

William C. Gifford,  
Toronto

So, Robert Fulford thinks that the Toronto megacity referendum question was biased. Fulford should read M41 103 and then tell us if that isn't a better question: "Are you in favor of a bill that sets three elected, unelectable trustees, using

the power of your elected local governments in Metropolitan Toronto, in order to appoint another group of people known as the transition team who will then, without public input and ignoring all previous study, impose a model of government the shape of which (beyond the number of councillors) is unknown and the financial benefits unknown, to create the new City of Toronto? Yes or No." That is what M41 103 does.

Barbara Milnes,  
Toronto

Although I've resided in Muskoka for more than 50 years, Robert Fulford's story reminded local memories of my 24 years growing up and working in Toronto the Good. For a while in the '30s, we lived at the Beach adjacent to Kew Gardens where Scarborough Beach Park was still operating. To those days, there were links to Fulford's work, the Mills, Roger's Hollow, the Humber, and the Don Valley, and I received all my schooling during those years. But Fulford is right in suggesting that the proposed changes will benefit the city. As a former clerk/administrator for Muskoka for 36 years, I hope that the Ontario government will carry out its plan and make these badly needed changes.

Give Williams,  
Greenwood, Ont.

## Emancipating news

Your recent article on the release of the *Ottawa Citizen* included the assertion by that newspaper's former editor that our London Daily Telegraph had succeeded on a formula of "bits and analysis." It's not just *Ottawa*, *Monica*, March 17. The *Daily Telegraph* has not published a malicious photograph in its history, which prohibits editorial photography. It has once again been awarded by its peers the coveted title of "Newspaper of the year" in the United Kingdom as the best-written, best-edited, most interesting and most intelligently edited newspaper in that country. On the basis of rumors that Southern is closing its foreign bureaus, I am accused of the colonization of Canadian journalism. We are sharing office space between some of our different newspapers in various foreign cities and the *Telegraph* service has largely replaced the editorial services of the *Globe* and the *Ottawa*, for which Southern grossly overpaid. This is not "colonization" of Canadian journalism. This is the enhancement of Canadian journalism in the world and the emancipation of its journalists from the parochialism such as those cited by Martin's.

General Clark,  
Chalmers and chief executive officer,  
Nigel Inc.,  
Toronto

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Another View



## Charles Gordon Piano lessons, bird watching and golf

A couple of years ago at a big company, a fellow began taking piano lessons. He was 54 and thought it was a pretty unusual thing he was doing, starting from scratch on a musical instrument, until he began noticing articles in newspapers and magazines about people who began taking piano lessons when they were 54. Then he discovered another fellow at work who was also taking piano lessons, had, in fact, been taking them longer. It turned out everybody was taking piano lessons.

(This was before the movie *Shogun*, which will have many more people taking piano lessons and many piano teachers trying to talk 54-year-old piano students out of attempting the Bach 3.)

Further discoveries followed within the fellow's circle of acquaintances. Several men took up golf. A 50-year-old was buying expensive binoculars and going on serious bird watching expeditions. Another man was taking flying lessons. There took clubs were formed. A 45-year-old had joined the church choir. Half a dozen men and women at the peak of their earning power had taken the buyout, bought government computers and struck out on their own. At least four novels were being written. And just the other day, another guy started taking piano lessons.

If you had wandered in from an earlier decade, you would not be surprised at all. After all, you had been hearing about the constant race of leisure. Labor-saving devices were going to free us from the drudgery of work, allowing us to take piano lessons, set up book clubs and join the choir.

As it turns out, that is a complete misreading of today's situation. Yes, there are labor-saving devices, and they are probably saving more labor than was ever imagined by the futurists of the past. But as one realized that technological progress, in the form of cell phones, faxes, photocopiers, high-speed printers and, particularly, computers would create more work for people, making their days longer, not shorter. And at the same time, as more work was being created, more jobs would be eliminated.

The futurists of the past also failed to recognize—for how could they?—a distinct change in the ethic of the workplace. The mutual loyalty between employer and employee disappeared. Whether it was the ancient marketing demands that threatened the survival of the company, or the company developing an obsession with the bottom line, the old idea of loyalty within a company has been shown to be an old idea, as evidenced in government departments as it is in private companies.

The result all over North America, people are working longer hours for no more pay. They face every day the perils of downsizing. Their benefits are being laid off or taking the buyout. Downsizing means no new hiring; no new hiring means no infusion of

younger people. The workplace shrinks and stagnates. People like their jobs less and less and begin to try to find jobs elsewhere.

The great advances in technology their parents could only dream about sit atop each desk, an intimidating presence to an intimidated group of employees. They sit at their labor-saving devices and play solitaire on them, or they use the much-hailed information highway for information about their holiday goals. Soon they will have to work again. Only the thought of the piano lessons enables them to carry on. Their Red piano Web sites on the Internet.

The piano lessons and the corporate novels don't mean that people have more time for recreation. The piano lessons and the novels mean that people are desperate to do something they can be proud of. And they are desperate to become less emotionally dependent upon the workplace.

The piano has its own attractions, to be sure. But its attractiveness has much to do with the new situation at the workplace. When the entire goal of work is just to spend money, it is difficult to find creative satisfaction in it. There are people who can do that, but they are not the majority. Neither are the people who take the buyout a majority, although they are growing. What they represent is that old warning sign, that recognition of the last minute. They have to get out.

Those who remain are questioning their psychic parasites. They need the job, but they recognize that it can no longer satisfy them. Furthermore, they are weary of investing their entire sense of self-worth in the workplace, lest the workplace reject them, and leave them with nothing. They spread their emotional commitments around. If it is not going well at the office, there is always the piano. Or the novel. Or the church.

Or the family. Clearly, there are positive aspects of this emotional diversification. The workplace comes back to his or her family. That can't be bad. If church membership and volunteer work are up because people are looking for an alternative to thinking about the office all the time, who can complain?

The downside, as they say at the office, is found at the office. The workplace needs commitment and productivity. Because it has become such a crumbing environment, there is a growing danger of the workers pulling back on their commitment and making their jobs for the piano lesson. That can only make the situation at the office worse, but who can blame them? The office hasn't been going much better lately.

The main hope for reversing this trend, had it not been for the piano teachers of Canada, is for employers to recognize that they need the thoughts and abilities of those who work for them—that a workday is more than just something that needs to be reduced. Until that happens, the bosses shouldn't be surprised if their employees' thoughts are elsewhere.

People are  
desperate to do  
something creative,  
to become less  
emotionally  
dependent upon  
the workplace



# Opening Notes

Edited by BARBARA BYCKENS

## Hyped for His Holiness

At first, things did not look good. After two years of hard planning, and then travelling halfway around the world, the 72 members of the Catholic Central High School Concert Choir from London, Ont., were not in the front row to greet their audience with Pope John Paul II. Instead, the 30 girls sat 22 boys lined themselves up in the middle of Pope Paul VI Auditorium. Still, chaperoner Ted Gorski said his students gave their all when they sang *The Polish Madonna*—in Polish—and several French songs, in honor of Montreal's Jean-Claude Cardinal Turcotte, who was also in Rome last week. That St. Joseph—the patron saint of Canada, whose feast day was on the day they sang—must have smiled at the choir. Or perhaps it was Gorski's boldness in moving his students to the front to sing the Polish hymn a second time as the audience



The Pope with London, Ont.'s concert choir: more than we ever expected

was emptying. In any case, something caught the Pope's attention and he greeted the Canadian students in a 10-minute private audience. "We could see that the Pope was moved," says Gorski. "It was more than we ever expected."

## Caught in the Web

Bad drivers on Canada's West Coast beware. A novel Internet Web site now invites Vancouver-area residents to switch on marauder motorists. By connecting to <http://www.vancouver.ca/traffic>, witnesses to such potentially lethal maneuvers as hitting tailgates, dangerous lane changing and red-light running can report

the details—complete with the offender's license plate number—for others to use. Last June, Trevor Wilson, a native of Australia who has lived in the Vancouver area since 1994, launched the Web site "Bloody Drivers" after he saw a motorist speeding through a school zone. "I'm not one of those people that likes to jump out and abuse people," he explains. "And I didn't have a

cell phone on me to call the police. So I thought, 'What else could I do?' " Although Wilson's reports are currently limited to the B.C. Lower Mainland, the 27-year-old employee of a local radio station says he is open to logging links with others elsewhere who want to set up similar Web sites—and is looking for a sponsor. "If it makes just one person drive more carefully," says Wilson, "that it has all been worth it."

## A blacklist of violent sex offenders

Briefed: Colombia, home of Canada's most infamous serial sex killer. Clifford Orloff, is pushing for the creation of a new national registry of violent sex offenders. The province already has some of the country's toughest laws for public disclosure of the whereabouts of parolee sex offenders. And victim rights groups have called for such a registry for some time. But now B.C. Attorney General Cjil Doughty has taken up the cause. Doughty says he has asked his officials to draft a blueprint for a national database of known violent offenders. He intends to propose the plan to his counterparts in the other provinces at their next meeting, early in 1998. The registry, he says, should be available to parents who wish to check the backgrounds of babysitters or anyone else who may come into contact with their children. Doughty acknowledges that such a registry might run into opposition from civil libertarians. But, he says, "I think it is appropriate to look at whether we lose certain fundamental rights because if one gives a continuing right to society. One should not be on the side of protection, one really of children." And (though it might be of "minimal effectiveness," Doughty says he feels so strongly about the registry that British Columbia might even move alone to create its own if the other provinces don't join in.



## Art on the town

It was much a vacation destination as a new job posting. The task is to bring art-residence for the quiet town of Coaticook, population 6,942, in the picturesque rolling foothills of the Appalachian Mountains of Quebec's Eastern Townships. There's no for good measure, fully furnished second residence and an all-purpose studio on the top floor of the town's newly renovated, octane post office, built in 1888. All for less, and for as little as two months or so long as a year, beginning in August. Noranai Gladu, the local sculptor and painter who came up with the idea, says the successful candidate must be an established professional artist, from Canada or abroad, and not "someone who's just shocked a bit of paint around." Presently Coaticook, surrounded by farmland, sponsored the program to bring art to its efficiency and to art artists of exceptional calibre a change of pace in exchange, the artist is expected to donate a piece of his or her work



Gladu: a change of pace for the right candidate

to the town upon departure. Landing the job, even though unpaid, "would be like a gift from heaven," Gladu declares. Nice work if you can get it.

## Don't click on this

The free and easy way in which surfers navigate from one site to another on the World Wide Web could soon get bogged down in a sea of litigation. Lawyers for one major U.S. news organization will argue their case this spring in New York City against Phoenix, Arizona-based Total News Inc., a free-monthly Web site that offers one-stop shopping for news on the Web. The site provides links to more than 100 news-related web-sites, including those of plaintiffs Washington Post Co., Dow Jones & Co. Inc., Amazon.com Media Inc., Time Inc., CNN Inc. and Times-Mirror Co. (publisher of the Los Angeles Times). According to lawyers for the six companies, Total News infringes their copyright by republishing their own content without sharing advertising profits. Worse, says Total News president Ronan Goshalsky, who continues to provide links to those sites. "We're not copying," he says. "We're not republishing, re-editing or modifying their sites in any way." Internet experts say the outcome of the case could affect far more than just one company, as a ruling against Total News would call into question the linking practices of thousands of other sites. "The basic line is that making any kind of Web links without some kind of written permission would become illegal," says Stanton McGillish of the Electronic Frontier Foundation, a U.S. cyber-space watchdog. Nevertheless, the case will certainly test the traditional boundaries of copyright.

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTION

1. *The Thin Red Line*, John Gardner (D)
2. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
3. *Fall in Your Hands*, Don Myers Macdonald (D)
4. *Black Mirror*, Andrew Miller (D)
5. *Drum of Justice*, Bruce Goldstone (D)
6. *One Hundred Years*, Jerry Weintraub (D)
7. *Black Box*, John Gardner (D)
8. *The Thin Red Line*, John Gardner (D)
9. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
10. *The Thin Red Line*, John Gardner (D)

### NONFICTION

1. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
2. *The Thin Red Line*, John Gardner (D)
3. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
4. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
5. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
6. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
7. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
8. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
9. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)
10. *Black Box*, Margaret Atwood (D)

1) Fiction best seller. 2) Nonfiction best seller.

## Love and physics

In her first novel in two years, English writer Jane Wollman tells a tale that, on the surface, is about a love triangle involving a female physicist who has an affair with an older scientist and then with his wife. But Gail Symonides also encompasses ideas from the ancient Greeks to the Grand Unified Theories (GUTs) of modern physics.

## Passages



**EXAMINER!** Former engineering dean at Monmouth University (M.N.S. Swamy, 61), of allegations of academic misconduct. Swamy retired from the Montreal university in 1994, soon after an independent inquiry left some credence to his claims. **Valery Fabrikant's** claims that Swamy had stolen credit for some of Fabrikant's earlier research. After an editorial review, *Concordia* reinstated Swamy's research privileges in 1996.

**CHARGED:** Bankrupt Ottawa developer *Paul Pense*, who built the \$120-million Canada Post headquarters in Ottawa in 1991, with fraudulently disposing of \$6 million worth of assets to keep them from creditors. Pense countered with a \$37-million lawsuit against trustee *Daloz & Touche Inc.* for violating the terms of his confidential bankruptcy settlement.

**HOSPITALIZED:** For psychiatric care in hospital, Canadian actor *Gratton Greene*, 44, best known for his role in 1990's *Dances With Wolves*, after police responded to a suicide call at his home in Georgia, Oct., north of Toronto.

**DIED:** Holocaust expert and painter *Walter Koenig*, 90, who spent time in East Habsburg, N.Y. Born in the Netherlands, his Koenig was renowned in the United States as "America's Picasso."

**DIED:** Hungarian-born art master *Victor Vasarely*, 90, who spent time in his paintings of illusory, geometric patterns, of possible cancer, in Paris clinic.

**DIED:** Oscar-winning film director *Fred Zinnemann*, 85, who was best known for his 1951 western, *High Noon*, of natural causes, at his home in London.

**DISAPPEARED:** Former Olympic figure skating champion *Scott Hamilton*, 38, with testicular cancer, in Cleveland.

**CLEARING:** For release in Britain, Canadian director *David Cronenberg's* controversial film, *Crash*, after the British Board of Film Classification took four months to decide that the movie was disturbing but not obscene.

# MURDER MYSTERIES

BY PAUL KAHILA

**E**ugene Uyeyama appeared to have it all. After 12 years, the woman of his dreams had finally said "yes" and married him. He and his new bride, Michelle, had just returned from a luxurious two-week Caribbean cruise, and were looking forward to their first Christmas as husband and wife. Michelle busied herself with preparations in the couple's \$400,000 home in suburban Vancouver, built into the side of a cliff, with a pool and deck and a spectacular view of the Coastal Mountains and the Burrard Inlet. Michelle wanted to get pregnant, and shopped for baby clothes while picking out gifts she and Eugene planned to exchange with family and friends during the holidays. But six weeks of blissful domesticity masked a darker reality of drug running, weapons dealing and divided loyalties. And in the early hours of Dec. 21, 1995, that world caught up to Uyeyama and his bride when mysterious visitors paid a call on the newlyweds—and left a record of abuse, senseless and the seed streak of burnt flesh.

Paramedics and police who arrived at the scene-viewed home that night were left reeling. According to one of them, it appeared as if Eugene, 35, and Michelle, 30, had been tortured before being strangled to death. Their bodies had been doused with gasoline and set on fire. The gruesome murders understandably provoked fear and anguish among those closest to the victims. "Eugene was a very pleasant guy—very friendly, very up-beat," lamented Uyeyama's lawyer, Richard Gierke. "All Michelle wanted was to have a baby and live a normal life," says a friend who worked with her at a local grocery store. "She was hit on the head, strangled and set on fire. The image of her being carried out of the house in a body bag will flash through my mind every day for as long as I live." Few offered a motive. One of Eugene's brothers suggested to a reporter that a hopelessness had gone wrong. Police murmured vaguely that the deaths had been drug-related.



■ The Uyeyamas (left) the house where they were murdered (below, top right)—cousins, defense and a killing spree



## THE RCMP'S HANDLING OF A DRUG CASE IS MARRED BY MISHAP AND TRAGEDY

They're right. Madson's law has inspired, after a Dec. 1995 investigation covering six cities in three countries, that Eugene Uyeyama was the most prized and well-connected laborer recruited by the RCMP on the West Coast in years—perhaps ever. He and his wife were slain as the result of an "internal security review" in use the words of one intelligence official, ordered by Colombia's powerful Cali cocaine cartel. More ominous, the double homicide is only the most massive chapter in a killing spree that claimed the life of another RCMP informant last March in Montreal and at least five—perhaps as many as eight—other victims.

According to Insp. Gary Bass of the RCMP's major crimes section in Vancouver, all of the deaths stem from huge-scale cocaine trafficking operations that the force has been investigating for at least a year and a half. But during that time, the *Murders*' work has been marred by mishaps and tragedy. In fact, Madson's law has learned that, in addition to the deaths, more than \$350,000 in drug money and as much as 350 kg of cocaine slipped through the fingers of RCMP surveillance teams last spring. A former Colombian drug trafficker says that associates of his were among the dealers who ended up selling the missing drugs on the street. In this case, the RCMP didn't do what they were supposed to do," says the source, who requested anonymity for fear of retribution. "They care more about making a name and bragging about how much dope they caught than how much they lost. Kids are using the dope they lost—getting high, committing robberies and doing crack," he says. Glickle, who directed part of the investigation out of the RCMP's Newmarket, Ont., detachment, says that he is prohibited from responding to the allegations because he will be a witness in an upcoming trial against a dozen of the accused. "It would be very unethical and unprofessional of me to be discussing it at this time," said Glickle.

The maximum of violence and drugs into Canada flowed north from the Andean highlands of Colombia, a country whose idyllic tropical scenery can be every bit as intoxicating as its most successful export. The cocaine trade is the most profitable sector of the \$540-billion-a-year global drug trafficking industry. Colombia's Cali cartel, with earnings of about \$10 billion a year and operations in dozens of countries, is the world's largest supplier of the highly addictive narcotic. Its biggest wholesale customers north of the United States live in Montreal, and the bustling smuggling routes into Canada eventually lead to Mafia families, Colombian mobsters and other groups based in that city. It is hardly surprising that all large-scale cocaine seizures for much of the past decade have gone down in the eastern half of Canada. And while drug lords have routinely shipped cocaine from Colombia to Central Canada through Vancouver, the trail follows have fired little heat on the West Coast.

Until September, 1995, that is. That month, a 46-year-old Colombian immigrant named Rodriguez Ernesto Alvarado tipped off the RCMP that he had information on a Montreal-based dispatching system to pack up a load of 220 kg of cocaine in Vancouver. Alvarado would travel with them. Little is known about him, or how the RCMP turned him into an informant. He arrived in Canada from his native Colombia as a landed immigrant in 1975, and settled in Montreal. His wife, Maria, followed in August, 1987, but the marriage failed. That same year, Alvarado had his first run-in with Canadian authorities: a charge of possession for the purchase of trafficking materials that landed him in a prison for two years less a day. He was later convicted on a weapons charge. More recently, neighbors say, he pursued a playboy lifestyle—partying with friends at the apartment where he lived alone, drinking up and going out to clubs like Montreal's Les Palmes. He was also linked to a mobster who in

currently awaiting extradition to face United States cocaine charges, and at some point, Albarn had a rape case and drug charges against him dropped.

On the weekend of Sept. 24, 1995, Albarn accompanied a pair of Montreal males and their owner to Vancouver. According to a B.C. provincial court transcript dated Dec. 1, 1995, RCMP surveillance teams were waiting, and they followed the suspects to various motels and ultimately, to a two-storey house high on a hill in the city's east end. The address 2581 East 6th Ave. (the house has since been rebuilt and has new occupants) Police watched as the two couriers carried three or four large duffel bags from the safe house to a car, bags that were later transferred to a Ford Aerostar minivan.

What happened next is one of the few things the RCMP have made public. The two couriers were arrested 70 km east of Vancouver, near Abbotsford, driving the minivan east on the Trans-Canada highway. The two men, who were to receive \$25,000 each for their work, quickly and quietly pleaded guilty to one count each of possession of a narcotic for the purpose of trafficking, and were sentenced in B.C. provincial court on the first day of December to seven and five years in prison. Albarn, the informant, walked. And, curiously, so did the man who is cited in the court transcript as the courier who transported the bags to the Ford Aerostar—Selwyn Maclean of Montreal.

The greatest mystery, however, surrounds an event at the safe house three days after the highway seizure. According to an RCMP news release on Oct. 2, the force will not mention the residence and seized 100 kg of cocaine, an AK-10 assault rifle and at least \$150,000 in cash. What the news release does not say is that no case was charged in the seizure, although four or five suspects were taken into custody and released. One of them was Eugene Uyeyama.

## ON THE TRAIL OF THE DRUGS

**SEPTEMBER 24, 1995** RCMP informant Grinda Albarn tips off the force that mules are picking up a load of 120 kg of cocaine in Vancouver. Two couriers are arrested with the drugs.

**SEPTEMBER 27, 1995** Vancouver RCMP raid the east-end house where the mules picked up the drugs. They seize 150 kg of cocaine and at least \$150,000 in cash. Four or five suspects are questioned and released.

One of them, drug trafficker Eugene Uyeyama, becomes an informant.

**OCTOBER 5, 1995** Acting as a tip man Uyeyama, RCMP in Vancouver contact Canada Customs to intercept any couriers of cocaine ingesting in Colombia.

**FALL, 1995** Colombia's Cali cartel sends a team to Canada, "as internal security review" at its Canadian operations.



**The RCMP has said very little about the terrible events of 1995**

The officer in charge of the raid, RCMP Sgt. Wayne Schaefer, told Maclean's that Uyeyama and the others were released because there was insufficient evidence that they had "knowledge, consent and control" over the contraband—the legal test for convictions in drug cases. But according to a source close to Uyeyama, the real reason was that the drug trafficker "bought time" and decided to become an RCMP informant that very night. In exchange, the RCMP in question gave Uyeyama "Get out of jail free" cards by not charging him. The source adds that the Mounties let all of the suspects go because they did not want to single Uyeyama out with special treatment. "Everyone walked because they [the RCMP] wanted to bury the fish," he says. Uyeyama could still be brought through of international pressures for the RCMP's last straight job had been more than a decade ago.

**DECEMBER 5, 1995:** A shipping container, with an estimated 500 kg of cocaine hidden in bags, leaves Colombia for Toronto. Soon after, another container with 400 kg of cocaine cancelled in cocaine is on its way to Vancouver.

**DECEMBER 21, 1995** Uyeyama and his wife, Michelle, are brutally murdered in the Burnaby, B.C., home.

**JANUARY 30, 1996** The map shipment arrives in Toronto. It is taken to a warehouse at 900 Alton St. in the Toronto suburb of North York.

**FEBRUARY 12, 1996:** The cocaine shipment arrives in Vancouver. RCMP officers remove all but 25 kg of cocaine and initiate a controlled delivery.

**FEBRUARY 27, 1996** An undercover RCMP officer, posing as a truck driver, delivers the cocaine to the Toronto warehouse. The force keeps the building under surveillance until June 3.

**MARCH 7, 1996** Albarn is fatally shot in the head with a .22-caliber pistol in his Montreal apartment.

**MARCH 12, 1996** The RCMP

kill a B.C. Peckham fish plant, three days after he had landed stolen goods sold, at the time of the bust, was sitting up the miles of an organization controlled by a local Colombian heroin drug lord. "Eugene was big time," says one source. "He was dealing in multi-kilo shipments."

He also began supplying the RCMP with very accurate information, including tips about black-market seizures. But it was in early October that Uyeyama handed the force's Vancouver drug squad a lead that would result in one of their biggest seizures ever. On Oct. 5, he gave detectives an aluminum bag, explaining that he had stolen it from a recent shipment of cocaine that had arrived in Vancouver concealed in coconuts. Each of the pots, produced by a cartel-run factory in Colombia, was associated with false letters containing 27 cm parcels of cocaine. According to a confidential Maclean's source, a shrewd Colombian who operated out of Toronto, Jorge

**RCMP seizure drug bust (left), anti-glass shop in Cambridge, Ont. The RCMP knew that they'd lost the dope, but they figured they could cover it up**



lost a pair of suspects who remove two large boxes from the warehouse. The force later says that the boxes contained cocaine.

**MARCH 17, 1996** Two suspects load a U-Haul truck with bags of the warehouse and evade surveillance in light traffic on a Sunday morning. The force later says that the bags contained cocaine.

**MARCH 22, 1996** Local police arrest three Colombians removing cocaine from maps on the second floor of a Cambridge, Ont., anti-glass shop. According to evidence presented at the trial leading to their convictions, the trio had already removed and distributed 350 kg of

coconuts before the raid.

**MAY 3, 1996** RCMP surveillance team suspects leaving the Toronto warehouse with a bag of pots believed to contain cocaine.

**JUNE 5, 1996** The RCMP announces the seizure of 400 kg of cocaine, and the related bust in Cambridge, Ont. Police arrest 19 suspects in three cities.

**APRIL 1, 1997:** A preliminary hearing for 12 people facing importation and trafficking conspiracy charges begins in Toronto. Eight individuals in three cities have so far pleaded guilty.

Quintero, received the cocaine with an accomplice in a Vancouver warehouse and Uyeyama's tip, the cartel sent an intelligence team to Canada to investigate leaks within its organization and to interrogate Canadian associates. Some investigators say the team consisted of a man and a woman. But according to Colombian sources, two or three other Cali agents accompanied the couple. "They were working with the couple," said one source. "They were all very presentable, not your regular Mexican bullshits."

It is not known which particular event triggered the team's mission. The Cali "barons" are highly sensitive to seizures because they guarantee delivery of all shipments. After two shipments were intercepted in Canada in 1995, the cartel demanded that the Mounties stop any in advance for future deliveries. Were the Cali bosses angered by the 270-kg seizure in Vancouver in September? Or did they act because they had learned through their own extensive network of informants—which could reach into the ranks of Canadian law enforcement—that Uyeyama had rolled on the operation?

What is known, according to several sources both in and outside of the police, is that local traffickers in Vancouver and Montreal assisted the cartel's intelligence team—and that the Uyeyamas were slain on orders from Cali. "This had been a safe and established route that had gone wrong, and they pulled an inter-tribal-style vendetta," says intelligence of field ops. "They knew they had a leak, they looked around at who was who, and they got the right people. Their intelligence is 10 times better than ours, and the case you're working on is the proof of that."

In fact, Maclean's has learned, suspicions that the cartel identified the informants by bribing a Canadian law enforcement official may be so high that the RCMP launched the last of its own investigations. "They're looking for a leak," says one Mountie. "But they won't find one. I work with these guys, and I know them."

To date, the RCMP has said very little publicly about the strange and terrible events of late 1995 in Vancouver. But Uyeyama's short-lived career as an informant here led him to the keys to the case, with great fortune. The Mounties announced that they had seized 400 kg of high-grade cocaine smuggled into Vancouver as a sea container full of coconuts. At the same time, the force announced the seizure of a related shipment in Toronto, in which cocaine had been concealed in the loads of rag mats. The two shipments were already in motion the day the Uyeyamas were slain, and Maclean's has learned that the land of cocaine business in the north, estimated by the RCMP to be 500 kg, originated from the same cartel-run factory in the city of Cali that produced the pots and pans. (The factory also manufactured cardboard in which cocaine was hidden in the corrugated lining.)

The shipment of cocaine-laden coconuts arrived in Vancouver in a 13-m sea container aboard the M. V. Los Angeles on Feb. 12, 1996. As a result of Uyeyama's tip, Canada Customs immediately flagged the container for a drug inspection. Four hundred kilos of cocaine were discovered sealed in the bottoms of the pots and pans. The RCMP removed all but 25 kg and initiated a controlled delivery of the container. As local handlers on the cartel's payroll arranged for the shipment to be

trucked to Toronto, they had no idea it would be driven across the country by undercover RCMP officers posing as truck drivers, with surveillance teams in tow.

The tractor trailer left Vancouver on Feb. 21, destined for a warehouse at 900 Alameda St. in the Toronto suburb of North York. Meanwhile, RCMP officers based in the Toronto area nosed into the premises and installed a video camera and listening devices. At that point, they discovered that the facility contained thousands of rings in boxes with Colombian markings. The investigators traced the goods to a shipment of 18,000 rings that had left Colombia on Dec.



In subsequent weeks, the RCMP observed an unidentified male leave the warehouse carrying a bag they believed was full of pots containing cocaine. The man was not arrested, nor were the contents of the bag recovered. But the most troublesome incident occurred on the morning of March 17—a Sunday. The warehouse voice captured two suspects sorting through bags, then loading them into a U-Haul truck. RCMP officers tailed the vehicle in traffic north to the Toronto neighborhood of The Beach, and then on a ramp to the Gardiner Expressway, a freeway that crosses the south end of Toronto, next to Lake Ontario.

In the search warrant application, the RCMP

officer who filed the document says, "I believe that the cargo in the U-Haul (trucks) ... contained cocaine." But first "surveillance" was terminated due to the fact that individuals were continuously looking in all directions "As expert in surveillance who is familiar with the case double notation," you wouldn't terminate just because the suspecting around," says the expert, who requested anonymity. "I am not sure expert them to do when they're driving around a lot of coke." The truth is the RCMP lost them.

How much cocaine was in the truck may never be known. But the car was not in the truck last time. One is called last time.

was murdered: a parking garage

Was the truck that left the Toronto warehouse on March 17 carrying the same maps that were disseminated in the auto-glass shop? Last June, RCMP Const. Kenneth MacDonald told a *Maclean's* reporter outside a Toronto courtroom that the force is convinced that it is. While it is possible that the indicia they derived some of the maps to the auto-glass shop on an earlier date, MacDonald has learned that the Canadians set up their operations in the Cambridge facility only a day or two before the U-Flight left the warehouse on March 17. "The RCMP knows that they'd lost the dope but then figured they could cover it up," says the Colonel.



A close-up photograph showing hands working with a large, thick, white, fibrous mass, likely a traditional textile or food preparation process. The mass is being pulled and shaped by several hands, with some hands holding metal bowls or containers. The background is dark and out of focus.

last August. The three Colombians apprehended in the auto-glass shop, and eventually nine others, were charged with conspiracy to traffic and import cocaine in connection with the Toranzo warehouse and the cookware shipment. They are scheduled to appear for a preliminary hearing on April 1 in Toronto. Jorge Quintero, who was supposed to be under RCMP surveillance at the time of the arrests, remains in custody.

One man that did not make it to the RCMP's June 5 press release was Sylvain Malachuk. He was arrested in Montreal shortly before the others and then escorted by police to Vancouver. On June 3, 1995, he was formally charged for his role in the September, 1993, transaction in Vancouver surrounding the 128 kg that were sent on the Trans-Canada Highway A-33. Malachuk lived in the Montreal suburb of Laval and was long known to Quebec authorities as an enforcer who he had collected drug debts, a courier and an owner-dealer of cocaine. He was released on June 11, after posting \$150,000 in bail. The following month, homicide detectives from both Vancouver and Montreal interviewed him as part of their investigation into the murders of the

extralife, who is familiar with the pets and crops case. "All of that noise was sold." The former dealer adds that up to \$400,000 in proceeds from those sales was ferreted out of an apartment at 15 Martha Eaton Way in west Toronto while it was under surveillance by the RCMP. The funds were smuggled out of Canada and to the coast in Colombia.

As if those hardships were not enough, tragedy struck again. Days after the arrival of the shipments in the Toronto warehouse, the lone item of the caried reached for Toronto. Albernase. He was shot in the head on March 7 in his apartment in the northeast end of Montreal with a 22-calibre handgun. His corpse, still lying in a large pool of blood, refused when it was discovered days later. A woman at the house, who was not a close friend, chose not to make a statement. Albernase was a relatively quiet man, frugal, a semi-regular drinker that often disinterested on impact, making it difficult to match bullets to a gun through ballistics tests. Investigators were later told that a couple from Oak had visited Albernase before he decided to question them about who helped police finger members of their organization. The RCMP knew just how sensitive a news release or any kind of public notice about Albernase's murder.

On June 3, 1995, RCMP units across the country finally took down the conspiracy and prepared their big announcement of the bust in Vancouver, those males who received the cocaine shipment and arranged for its trip east were arrested and escorted to Toronto. They pleaded guilty to trafficking charges.

Uyeyamas and Akaboru. They concluded that Malahet knew who the killers were but refused to cooperate, claiming that he feared for his safety and that of his family.

Since the beginning of their investigation, the Mounties have clearly gone to great lengths to suppress public knowledge of many facets of the trafficking operation—and many questions remain unanswered: There are still no arrests in the U.S. and in Alberta and no murders. Who ordered the killings, and who exactly carried them out? Is there a cartel mode among police? There have apparently been at least five other related murders, and while it is known that some of them occurred in Cali, who were the victims, when were they killed and how did they fit into the case? A strong possibility is that the case is related to the murder of the Canadian member of the drug cartel, who was shot in the back of the head by the members of five drug dealers and associates at a farm in Abitibi, B.C., on Sept. 11, 1990. And how could the RCMP have allowed evidence to disappear from under their noses?

Even as the Canadian public has remained unaware of the violent background to the case, the law enforcement community and informant circles are swamped with rumors about the hit squad. Eugene Uyeyama and Ernesto Albarran. Many police members, unused either to violence-prone programs or experiencing heightened stress from their own involvement in the investigation, have been reluctant to guarantee their safety "When the guy got killed in Vancouver, the RCMP had started doing their investigation," says one federal witness who is under police protection—suggesting that after Uyeyama's murder the RCMP should have identified Albarran.

They sense RCMP informants. The bad guys in Colombia know it. They sense RCMP informants. The bad guys in Colombia know it. They didn't want anyone else to get killed, they should have cut off all their ties." In that man's story, the RCMP did "bury the cat," Lescarbo

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# DESTINY

## WORLDWIDE

新鶴山線	鶴山	094	09:00	停止	入
宇航貳號線	深圳	093	09:00	入	入
南沙拾捌線	南沙	090	09:00	入	入
蓬萊湖線	江門	093	09:00	入	入
蓮山湖線	蓮花山	090	09:00	入	入
港輪貳號線	澳門	090	09:00	入	入

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BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

**M**ont Dr. Keith Martin, a man who admits that his closest friends consider him "absolutely, completely nuts." Four years ago, Martin, a then-53-year-old physician, rebuffed his thriving medical practice in Victoria and sold his house, and found added fulfillment in such activities as occasional trips to a war-torn part of Africa to work in a field hospital. Then, he joined the Reform party, won the nomination in the riding of Esquimalt/Juan de Fuca, and went on to become a member of Parliament. Today, Martin makes half the money that he did and regularly spends eight hours commuting to Ottawa, where he stays in a basement apartment. He usually works 10-hour days in an environment he considers "bitching and bemoaning an anti-democratic" the House of Commons. Single but eager to

## SPECIAL REPORT

# STAYING ALIVE

have a family, Martin has not had a date in his home town since 1995. And when people ask him what he does for a living, he says, "I try not to tell them I'm a politician, because we're just so unpopular."

But here is perhaps the real surprise: when the governing Liberals drop the bat for an election campaign that will likely begin within six weeks, Martin will run for re-election. The reason, he says, is that "if I did not try to find a way to change the way Canada works, I would not feel comfortable complaining about the parts of it that do not work." He is not alone. In fact, there was no shortage of opposition politicians revving up for an election that their parties are long about to win. Tory Leader Jean Charest unveiled his party's election program in Toronto, while Reform Leader Preston Manning, also in town on a pre-election tour, responded immediately with his own conference. The Bloc Québécois, bloodied but apparently unbowed, gave a sometimes-welcome to a new leader. And everyone, at once, took positions at the July 18 polls.

The period just before an election is a politician's traditional time for hope—but that optimism may be misplaced for many non-Liberal supporters this spring. Consider the facts of life for the candidates from the Bloc, Reform, Tory and New Democratic parties: some have walked away from jobs; lost pay for more than the combined \$85,700 salary and benefits of an MP. At a time when being a politician is already



scold contact, but that is all." While some critics argue that the House of Commons does not reflect the views of Canadians properly, it is arguably true that the present parties do so too well. The Bloc, after all, was elected by almost half of Quebec's eligible voters, with the clear message that it had no interest in addressing national concerns. Reform, with its Alberta roots, accurately reflects the beliefs of many people west of Ontario who consider that the federal government is too preoccupied with Central Canada and Quebec issues. The sharp differences between the opposition parties make it near impossible for them to combine to effectively criticize the Liberals. "They aren't interested in the appearance of co-operation," says former Reform MP Stephen Harper, who recently resigned his seat. "Each is, in effect, a one-party dictatorship."

The 1993 election campaign that led to this fragmentation began traditionally enough, with most observers expecting a daylight for power between the opposition Liberals and the ruling Conservatives. That was in keeping with political tradition throughout most of Canada's previous 126-year history, when the electoral map had for the most part been colored alternately Liberal red or Tory blue.

No more. All that remains from past campaigns is the two-candidate rhetoric, with the exception of the pro-severingist Bloc Québécois, every leader claims that his or her party is seriously aiming to form the next government. "We see the one party that poses a serious national alternative to the Liberals," Tory Leader Jean Charest told *Maclean's* last week, shortly before he unveiled his electoral program (page 29). Similarly, Reform Leader Preston Manning said in an

interview, "We consider that the key elements of our platform should have applied to Canadian everywhere."

But both these claims seem to contradict an apocalyptic current poll results and political trends over the past four years. Based on those, the coming election campaign will be a series of regional guerrilla skirmishes involving different participants—and different messages. The likely outcome, say most observers, is an overwhelming Liberal victory (right now, the Liberals hold 175 seats in the 295-seat House, compared with 50 for the BQ, 50 for Reform, the NDP with none and the Tories with two). If current polling trends in each region were to hold true, says Wright, a post-election, expanded 30-seat House, "the Liberals would be headed for an even bigger majority, and the other parties would fight it out for what's left over."

Part of the reason has been the Liberals' skill at presenting an elusive target. Christian Bouché, despite recent cautions, still scores an approval rating higher than 50 per cent in most polls. The

## The opposition parties struggle for votes in a fragmented country

**Warning:**  
"Sometimes it is better to be right than to be popular"

already incorporated these elements of the programs of almost all their opponents. To left-leaning voters favoring strong central government, they argue that they are the only logical alternative to right-leaning Tories and Reformers. To voters favoring tough fiscal policies, they point to the fact that this is the first federal government of modern times to reduce the annual deficit.

Chretien and his Liberals are the only party that has MPs in each of the 30 provinces. The four most important parties competing against them are each targeting specific audiences—in specific regions. The Tories, for example, will aim directly at voters in the four Atlantic provinces, Ontario, Manitoba, and Quebec. Chretien's own Shepherdson riding in Quebec will target rural Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia. The NDP's best chances are in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, parts of British Columbia, and Halifax, where leader Alexa McDonough hopes to win a seat (page 26). And the Bloc, under their newly named leader, Gilles Duceppe, will concern itself entirely with Quebec's 75 seats. "We have a double mission," says Donald Turp, who unsuccessfully contested the BQ leadership and will now run as a Bloc candidate. "We have to defend Quebec's interests while being active on all fronts, and we want to see measures for the sovereignty movement to the rest of the country."

In fact, each of the four parties will confront different and specific challenges in the campaign to come.

**The Bloc Québécois.** Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition faces the easiest task of any of the opposition parties. On the one hand, it is a divided party that has just elected its third leader in less than four years. The new leader, chosen earlier this month, is Duceppe, a nearly-40-year-old former hospital attendant, labor leader and ex-union Marxist-Leninist. He is regarded, even by other sovereigntists, as cold and unbending. BQ MPs, since the departure of party founder Lucien Bouchard, have appeared unengaged and in effective in the House of Commons.

But none of that is likely to matter. The Bloc's support has seldom fallen below 45 percent in Quebec's last election, and it seems more difficult for the party to win less than 45 of Quebec's 75 seats. Other than Chretien's riding, they will fight head-to-head—and usually successfully—against the Liberals. "It doesn't matter who leads it or even who runs for it," says Jean-Jacques Lacroix, president of the Montreal-based League of Liberal voters' friends. "Ball of Quebecers are sovereigntists, and they will only vote for the Bloc." For now, many observers consider the Bloc at least an emergency prospect to return as the official Opposition.

**The Reform party.** Of all the party's leadership, Martin is probably the most likely to stir up public and political. He may also be, according to polls, the most popular male Anglos in North America when it comes to conservative government, tougher stances on crime and illegal immigration, and a harder line towards drug goons down south with a large percentage of voters across the country. But his new record of 10 representatives say they are uncomfortable with his ultra-right—and especially his leader. To that end, Manning has had an image makeover in the last six months: he has shed his glasses, changed from the jean shirts of 1993 to well-tailored suits, taken fewer lessons to moderate his fiery rhetoric, and

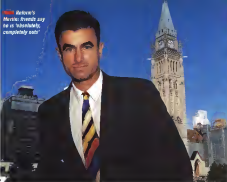
adopted a new hairstyle. Reformers were here are aware of their image problems—but not sure what to do about them. "You say you're from Reform and people look at it like they've bitten into a lemon," Martin said recently. "If you took the Reform policies and removed the logo, it would be fine. But such the Reform logo and the people don't like that potato?" Reform will not be a factor in the Atlantic provinces, or in Quebec. It finished second in more than half of Ontario's 90 ridings in the last election, and expects that province to be a key battleground. Other wise, most of its support lies in its home base in Alberta—where the party trails the Liberals in the polls. Reform, in fact, is a long shot in all the areas where it did well in 1993. But mixed whether the Tories should moderate or take it to voters to try to appeal to a broader base. Manning responds, "Sometimes, it is better to be right than to be popular. You have to hope that people take the time to see the wisdom of some new ideas."

**The New Democratic Party.** The party traditionally billed as the "conscience of Parliament" shares some specific challenges and problems with the other opposition parties. Like the Tories, New Democrats have a leader who does not come from an area with any historic kindness for the NDP. Alexa McDonough's home town of Halifax has never elected a federal New Democrat. Like Reform, the party's best hope lies in the West. Of all the main parties, the NDP, with its leftist traditions, offers the most distinctive alternative. And some Liberal strategists fear that people disillusioned with current social progress and the Liberals' embrace of free trade could move to the NDP.

But, so far, the polls do not support those concerns, and analysis suggests that the mainstream of the Canadian electorate has now shifted to the right, rendering the party all but irrelevant. As well, the NDP's weak representation in the House of Commons—just 10 seats—under the maximum of 12 needed for all-ideological parties—has robbed it of an essential platform for its views. "We have virtually no access to Question Period and our work as parliamentarians is restricted," complains ex-Liberal veteran MP Chris Axworthy of Saskatchewan. And, Axworthy says, his party seems to be "inert and predictable—until now. Candidates have not trusted as much with their vote unless for opposition."

**The Conservatives.** Strategists say that at ground level, the Tories will mimic the efforts of Republican congressional candidates who arrived during last fall's campaign. That while Democratic President Bill Clinton would be re-elected, they were needed to check his power. The Tories will make a similar case in regard to the Liberal's Canada: needs a strong national opposition. With the release of their platform last week, the Tories are trying to position themselves to the right of the Liberals—in the eyes of the voters now courted by Reform. The principal tools are promises to cut taxes by 30 per cent and abolish the Liberals' controversial gas regulation legislation. As well, federal Conservatives are trying to build links with the Mike Harris Tories in Ontario. Leslie Noble, a key strategist in the provincial Tory election victory, is

John Martin: Events say he is 'absolutely, completely safe'



chairman of the federal Tories' platform committee. But other key elements of the Tory platform are other ways in tone or team reminiscent of the Liberals. A promise for budget regulations over 12 months leading to a new interprovincial agreement on freer trade would almost inevitably lead to provincial complaints of uncoordinated federal heavy-handedness. A new "Canadian consensus" with the provinces on health care evokes similar—and unshared—Liberal promises made in the 1993 campaign. And Rock. And more analysis thinks the Tory plans, in many other things, not personal taxes, increase spending in several areas and balance the budget simply don't add up.

Even for the successful opposition MP who is elected or re-elected, the rewards seem relatively few in the House of Commons; opposition MPs cannot defeat a majority government, or do anything more than delay its legislation. Parliamentary convention, where important work is done: study prospective legislation, are largely ignored by the public. These people who still pay attention to Question Period complain that it is too theoretical and partisan. As a result of all that, former Reform MP Harper—who now heads the National Citizens' Coalition lobby group—contends that MPs have become almost irrelevant and unable in policy decisions. "If a person's objective is to push a policy agenda," says Harper, "party politics is not the way to do it in Canada."

But that argument works both ways. For example, Harper's present high public profile stems, arguably, from his own recognized effectiveness as an MP. And even MPs bitter about the greatest success story in which their position has allowed them to raise important issues for debate. Reform's MacDonald successfully sponsored a private member's bill last year that placed more effective controls on the reimbursement of election expenses. He was able to do so, he said, because "I made it clear to the Liberals I wanted to work

with them as the defender of Canadian values. But the House of Commons of tomorrow must be sharply restricted. BQs would be a different country for themselves. All are prepared to suffer a little to achieve their ends. They, for example, a professor at the University of Montreal, is ready to reduce a "stiff" salary cap and regular separation from his family while concerning in Ottawa, a city he scorns. But, much like Martin, he says, "If you want to change things, you have to be prepared to do so firsthand."

Along with the complaints, there are occasional, striking signs of affection for the coming by which they seek their ends. Manning, for example, thinks Parliament in its present form is a "wasteful, sclerotic institution" that he likes to see as much as possible. But now and then, he concedes, when he sits in the House of Commons, he feels "wonderful." "Sometimes," he says, "I look behind me at our band of MPs and I see the faces of each other, and I remember when I first met them, and how long ago that was. And then I think about it, and I realize that we have come a long way."

And it makes me feel very, very good." Will the Canada of tomorrow be remodelled, reduced, or reshaped, as various opposition MPs now advocate? Will the House of Commons become Parliament Ltd., with fewer responsibilities than present and less relevance to Canadians? Most likely, the circumstances of Canada's opposition politics will not be improved by the next election. Regardless, the consensus seems to be that the House of Commons may not be much—but they'd like to see it to call it home. Or, at least, the country's otherwise divided politicians remain united.

With LARRY FISHER in Ottawa

For your opinion on which party will form the official Opposition after the next federal election in this *Week* column of the *Maclean's Forum* ([www.macleans.ca/forum](http://www.macleans.ca/forum))

## SPECIAL REPORT

# 'Being in opposition is the most frustrating place of all'

## THE HARD FACTS



## ELECTION RESULTS 1993



## PRESENT HOUSE OF COMMONS

# FROM THE GROUND UP

**T**alk about a leader with problems. Alexa McDonough, the country's top New Democrat, has no seat in the House of Commons and virtually no national profile. Her party even lacks the minimum 12 seats required for official status. She does have a message—but the left-wing platform she trumpets as unique, balanced, church-bus-size across the country seems out of step with those fiercely conservative times. So why is this woman smiling? "We have momentum," McDonough assured recently in Halifax. "It is slow and steady. But there is a real hunger out there to reaffirm NDP values."

That may sound like little more than posturing on the eve of an election. But after 17 months in the political wilderness, McDonough, 52, has reason to sound cheerful. With the right of the political spectrum growing crowded, and the future of social welfare threatened by budget cuts, analysts say the NDP's vision of full employment and a comprehensive social safety net could spell an election comeback. If that assessment is correct, McDonough's party seems certain to improve on its dismal 1989 showing, which saw the NDP tumble from a respectable 44 seats to a paltry nine. As a result, New Democrats expect to regain official party status and a seat in Parliament. The dreamers among them even say that official opposition status is within reach. If the NDP can clearly distinguish itself from the other parties, As far as NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin, who is not running in the next election, points out. "Our challenge is to take the message to the hearts and minds of Canadians."

The woman now fighting that battle grew up in a Halifax household where public service mattered. McDonough's father, millionaire businessman Lloyd Shaw, was a founding member of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the precursor to the NDP. Her father from the Canadian left, such as former federal NDP leaders Tommy Douglas and David Lewis, were frequent visitors to the Shaw home. She completed a master's degree in social work, then worked in her father's field in Halifax. Always, though, the political fire burned. McDonough ran unsuccessfully in the 1979 and 1980 federal elections, and she was just 37 when she became the only New Democrat and sole woman in the rough-and-tumble New Scotia legislature in 1981. Through 14 years leading the provincial NDP, she gained a reputation

## The NDP's new leader needs a seat, a profile and more MPs



McDonough: 'A real hunger to reaffirm NDP values'

as a fierce critic of the ruling Tory party.

Winning respect is one thing; winning seats is quite another. McDonough left Nova Scotia politics in 1986 without seeing the NDP gain more than three seats. Unlabeled, she went on to contest the leadership of the federal party. A long shot during the 1992 leadership campaign, she scored an upset win over four-times Social Reform and Laurie Nyström, when Robinson crashed defeat after the first ballot.

Once the cheering stopped, the tough part began. With no seat, she has been relegated to spreading the party gospel from the visitor's gallery of the House of Commons. NDP policies on the issues of the moment—jobs, taxes and the social safety net— seldom make those all-important sound bites on national TV news. "Yet sitting in Parliament has been rewarding," McDonough concedes. "But getting my adrenaline pumping and gets me back out on the road."

And that, strategists say, is just where the party needs to be. The NDP is leading in the polls a recent Angus Reid survey gave it more than 30 per cent support, compared with 46 per cent for the Liberals, 17 per cent for the Tories and 13 per cent each for Reform and the Bloc Québécois. But pollsters also say the party needs surprising growth in the Prairie and British Columbia. In Atlantic Canada too, the NDP sees glimmers of hope. In fact, the race in the riding of Halifax should be a doozy. McDonough is running in the by-election there, even though the city has never sent an NDP member to Ottawa. In a risky choice, she has picked a former riding includes most of an earlier riding. McDonough is running in the by-election there, even though the city has never sent an NDP member to Ottawa. In a risky choice, she has picked a former riding includes most of an earlier riding.

riding that Liberal Mary Chancy has held since 1988. NDP strategists are even more fearful of Tory candidate Terry Deacon, the son of one of the province's most prominent political families and a former provincial party leader.

After months in the shadows, McDonough seems to be hitting her stride. She spent a little time in Ottawa, where her relationship with former federal Tory cabinet minister David Macdonald is the talk of Parliament Hill. When not in Halifax, she campaigns across the country. "If anything is going to change," she says, "it is going to be at the grassroots." And she smiles again, happy to be back in the game, no matter what the odds.

JOHN DODDSON in Ottawa with BRIAN KORMANOV in Halifax



Still, much the same tale would be heard before the 1992 election—which Charest won by 8,210 votes even as the Tories were almost wiped off the electoral map elsewhere. And, says pollster Jean Marc Lévesque, president of Montreal-based Léves & Léves Inc., Charest remains easily the most popular pre-federal politician in Quebec. As a result, Lévesque says, he would be "very surprised" if Charest did not win his seat. "Quebecers," says Lévesque, "think he is sincere, articulate, and a representative of Quebec they can be proud of."

The Liberals, both federal and provincial, have recognized that. Charest, who keeps a signed picture on his office wall of himself with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Quebec Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson, wanted closely with both men during the 1990 referendum campaign. But he felt snubbed by Chrétien on referendum night, when the Prime Minister did not wait for Charest to finish his speech from Montreal before beginning his own remarks in Ottawa. That deepened Charest's of an adequate national television forum on a crucial occasion. Since then, he has also bitterly criticized Chrétien and his approach to Quebec. "The Prime Minister," says Charest, "does not understand that Quebecers are tired of old mistakes and want something new."

Meanwhile, the Tory leader's reputation in his home province represents a dilemma for both the

Charest the party leader faces a tough race

# ON THE COMEBACK TRAIL

## Charest is betting that a hard right turn will revive the Tories

**E**ven those people who dislike the Progressive Conservatives have had to acknowledge something recently in several ways, the Tories have become leaner—and possibly meaner. Three months ago, party leader Jean Charest was at a reception in his Sherbrooke riding when he made a joke about his ballooning weight. One of the people who heard the remark was a physical education teacher, who offered to act as Charest's personal trainer. Now, due to a combination of diet and daily exercise, he has lost 35 lb.—and, in fact, as of now more than 46 from his peak of 230 lb. Three years ago "I felt," he said in an interview last week, "like I was 140 or 150 lbs."

So much for lean. As for mean, that aspect is contained in the aggressive, anti-Big Government program that Charest unveiled last week in Toronto. It promises tax cuts, the dismantling of whole federal departments, and mass reductions in the number of civil servants. The result is the most radically right-wing Tory platform of modern times—it splits of its promise to boost health-care spending. That approach may win wars outside Quebec, but in his home province Charest faces another challenge: selling himself and the merits of federalism to a skeptical audience. It will not come easily, starting with the battle to retain his own seat. A majority of voters in Sherbrooke supported the Yes side in the 1995 sovereignty referendum, and Bloc Québécois supporters say their internal polls indicate that they lead the riding—even though a PQ candidate has yet to be nominated.

Lévesque and the BQ. It's a street Liberal challenge in Sherbrooke, where to ask Charest, the federalist, the credibility of his own government. He has been severely damaged—with another referendum still ahead. (A strong Liberal candidate might also split the federalist vote, and allow the Bloc candidate to win.) Bloc organizers love their own adversary. Although they would dearly like to defeat the Tory leader, they risk embarrassment if they put too much effort into the riding—and lose. As well, some observers claim that Charest has lost his popularity in provincial politics—where he would likely be a far more formidable opponent than Johnson. Now, both parties are playing a waiting game. If the Liberals make a strong candidate, the Bloc will follow suit, say sources in the riding. But if the Liberals mount only a perfunctory campaign, the BQ will do the same. That, at this point, must hold.

Still, Charest's popularity in unlikely to help other Tories get elected in Quebec—despite his prediction last week that his party will win "a majority" of the province's 75 seats. "We are," says one Tory organizer plainly, "in worse shape now than we were under Joe Clark." Today, Conservative support in Quebec stands at about 10 per cent of committed voters, which presents Charest with his own dilemma: how much time to spend campaigning in Quebec. Publicly, he insists that he will go all out. Privately, though, Tory insiders note that Charest's campaign in Quebec is likely to be centered in Montreal—for national media purposes—and has been riding, at the expense of the rest of the province. After all, a shriveled down leader leading an emaciated party must be wary of spreading himself too thin.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa



UNITED COLORS  
OF BENETTON.





**Savage:** "Your base in politics is your party. We had no roots in the party."

placing them with his own supporters. According to Anne Adams, a political scientist at Acadia University in Wolfville, that move proved especially unpopular in rural Nova Scotia where "noisy Liberals, after being locked out for 16 years, figured it was their turn at the trough."

Other pretenses, of course, have taken widely unpopular measures and thrown politically. And Savage might have done so had he enjoyed Ralph Klein's ability to connect with the Alberta electorate or Frank McKeown's command over his New Brunswick Liberal party. But even Savage loyalists such as Anne Marshall, who served as co-chairman of the Liberal election campaign in 1995, acknowledge that the premier sometimes lacked the common touch. In a protestant that has shown a penchant for back-slapping politicians, Marshall says that Savage stands out as someone who "doesn't work a room well, doesn't schmooze well." Others provide a harsher assessment. "He was very sure about politics," says one senior Liberal organizer. "He told me once that he wanted to be a computer tutor, premier—it's just not possible. Your base in politics is your party. He had absolutely no roots in the party."

Although the party executive has yet to set a date for a convention, there is no shortage of likely candidates. Two longtime Nova Scotia MLAs—Ronald MacLellan and Ron Scott—MLAs—were seriously considering a shift to provincial politics. Several members of Savage's cabinet are also touted as possible successors, including Health Minister Bernie Rousselle and Transportation Minister Don Davies.

But this time, Nova Scotia, the immediate question asked in political circles after Savage's announcement was: what is he getting? It was perhaps a natural response, given that Savage's two immediate predecessors both received patronage appointments—John Baskin to the Senate and Donald Cameron as Canada's consul in Boston. Everyone from Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to Savage himself insisted last week that no assurances had been sought or offered. Savage, while ruling out such obvious patronage plans as a Senate seat, allowed that "if there was a job in Ottawa or in the Senate or in the Diplomatic Service as Canada's consul in Boston, I would be seriously considered."

But he said for the benefit of Canada or Nova Scotia, "I would be sorely tempted." In the meantime, he says he wants to spend some time getting reacquainted with his grandchildren, playing golf and generally "stopping and smelling the roses." After years of dueling political foes—both from the public and his own party—it sounded like a welcome game plan.

GRIAN BEHREMAN is a Halifax



## CANADA **BURR, SASK.** Peeling on the Prairies

BY DALE EISLER

**T**he town, technically, doesn't exist, but the bar is raucous and the hotel no longer needs room. But there is Elba, a town—no, every day in the Elbow—which can mean 60 customers daily. Small wonder that business was sparse. All that exists in Burr is the roadside hotel, two houses, a community hall, a rural municipality office, and the ruins of an old wooden hockey rink. It is no longer called a village, let alone a town, and has been absorbed into the rural municipality of Wolkstein.

The Commission brought strip-tease to Burr. In February, a Saskatchewan Queen's Bench judge ruled that a provision in the province's Alcohol and Gaming Regulation Act forbidding "a strip-tease performance or live dancing contest" in establishments with liquor licenses violates the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Justice Paul Hellyard agreed with Saskatchewan lawyers who argued that the regulation limits a dancer's freedom of expression. Although the provincial government intends to appeal the ruling, Saskatchewan's rural bar scene has exploded in the last few days. The bar scene has exploded in the last few days. The bar scene has exploded in the last few days.

Looking on from behind the bar as Elba, Sask.—already a two-year veteran of the Alberta strip circuit—goes through her rou-

line in Dan Gaudreau, who operates the 66-seat watering hole. "This is great," Gaudreau beams. "It used to be that for the first three days of the week we had no business, no, none. Now every day in the Elbow—which can mean 60 customers daily. Small wonder that business was sparse. All that exists in Burr is the roadside hotel, two houses, a community hall, a rural municipality office, and the ruins of an old wooden hockey rink. It is no longer called a village, let alone a town, and has been absorbed into the rural municipality of Wolkstein."

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While some might regard the arrival of strip bars as dubious social progress, many struggling rural hotel owners see male

**Dancers in:** Elbow, Saskatchewan's rural bar scene has exploded in the last few days.

dancers as a financial boon. "My phone's been ringing off the hook," says Gaudreau, who started hiring strippers on March 6. "I bet I've had 50 calls from other hotel owners. They want to know how they can book strippers." At the same time, Gaudreau can offer more than just advice—his girlfriend and business partner Rose Marshall, who worked briefly as a exotic dancer years ago, has taken up the "art" again. Not only can Rose fill in as Burr's featured dancer when necessary, she also takes bookings from other hotel owners. In fact, entrepreneurs all over the province are considering the possibilities. Last week, at the Hotels Association of Saskatchewan annual meeting in Regina, a booklet sent for exotic dancers painted out brochures—while also selling "peeler girls," the floor-to-ceiling stage prop considered essential for any modern-day strip show.

Although it is sometimes standing-room only during evenings at the Burr bar, not everyone is debilitated with the sudden display of flesh. This is, after all, a region settled by God-fearing German Catholics, three kilometers up the main St. Scholastica Church, and the local parish has produced more priests and nuns over the years than almost any other in the province. (Peter Nowoski, the current abbot at St. Scholastica's Monastery in Maclean, even calls from Burr.) "I don't think people in my parish would care for that," says Father Francis Lohmer, the 69-year-old parish priest of St. Scholastica, of the performances at the Burr hotel. Gaudreau says he has heard rumors that a petition is being circulated to have strip-tease banned so far the only priest has come in two anonymous letters sent to Marshall. "They warned me I was going to burn in hell," she says, as she busily serves her stripping customers in the couple's cramped living quarters next to the bar.

In the meantime, concerned citizens may not have much to worry about. Bill Neale, executive vice-president of the provincial hotels association, calls the province's strip-tease boom a "passing fad" that will soon fade. Perhaps. Others, though, think the new freedom is long overdue. "It's about time Saskatchewan caught up with the rest of Canada," says Burr bar owner Brian Longmuir. Gaudreau, Elba's show performer, agrees. She steps off the platform, slips into a lacy can-can and disappears through the door that has opened up a whole new world for the patrons of the Burr hotel. □

## CANADA Time to bow out

**A**ccording to his friends and longtime political associates, there are two John Sagves. The first is the private man, whom they describe as warm and compassionate, a loving grandfather, an able golf companion. The second is the public Savage, who during a three-month four-year term as Nova Scotia's premier often came across as aloof, arrogant, even condescending. That prickly persona did little to help Savage win a series of unpopular measures introduced by his government—including health-care and education cuts, municipal amalgamations and an attack on the province's deeply entrenched system of political patronage. Indeed, the Welsford physician became the intensely personal focus of public outrage—and internal party strife. Acknowledging as much, the 66-year-old Savage last week sharply declared his intention to resign as soon as a successor could be chosen. "I was obviously by popular," said Savage in an interview with *Newsweek* the day after his announcement. "I think it's fair to say that the party will do better without me."

Savage's surprise departure came just one week after the release of a poll showing the Liberals trailing the Conservatives for the first time since the 1995 provincial election. According to the poll, by Hudson Research Associates, 32 per cent of decided voters supported the Tories, com-

pared with 25 per cent for the Liberals and 21 per cent for the NDP. These results, coming in what should be an election year, brought renewed grumbling from many rank-and-file Liberals—the same people who in 1995 had forced Savage to endure a leadership review even though, only two months earlier, he had led the Liberals to a rout at a scandal-ridden Conservative government, taking 41 of the province's 52 seats. Savage survived the revolt—although his move that

further camped the dissidents, the party executive declined to challenge his margin of victory. Savage's fall from grace began almost from the point that he was office. He campaigned as a traditional Liberal who would to make job creation his top priority, laboring a \$675-million deficit. He ended up spent the grubby cash of Ottawa government spending. Hospitals closed, overachers were dropped out of their jobs and civil servants saw their wages cut. Party insiders say that it was a program that Savage found distasteful—a point the premier abided in his resignation speech when he said that he did not enter political life to cut budgets. Savage, though, carry through on at least one self-imposed promise: breaking the time-honored Nova Scotia tradition of firing the previous generation of political appointees and re-

**Nova Scotia's premier resigns**



March 1997. Genetic engineers in Edinburgh announce the successful cloning of a sheep to produce its exact copy.



Some things are harder to duplicate than others.



March 1997. Automotive experts will have a hard time to copy the original, the Chrysler Minivan. Further proof that they do follow rules more strictly than insurance law.

## SAILORS GO HOME

Six Taiwanese sailors from the container ship *Mannin Dubai* returned to Taipei. Justice Minister Angus Rock told the men, who are alleged to have killed three Rwandean air stewards, could go after Taiwan pledged to review the evidence and lay charges. On March 6, a Nova Scotia Supreme Court judge freed the six sailors, ruling he did not have jurisdiction over the case.

## NEW WESTRAY TRIAL

The Supreme Court of Canada, in a 7-to-2 decision, ordered a new manslaughter and criminal negligence trial for Westray mine manager Dennis Phillips and underground manager Roger Perry. The court said Nova Scotia Supreme Court Justice Robert Anderson, who stayed the proceedings on the 48th day of the much-tried case, in 1996, showed bias in calling for a Crown prosecutor to step down. The charges arose out of the May 1992 explosion that killed 26 miners.

## A 'SECURITY THREAT'

Immigration officials arrested Saudi national Ihsan Abdul Rahman Al Sayegh on an Ottawa grocery store. They provided few details, but the *Toronto Sun* said he was being held as a suspect in a bombing last year that killed 19 soldiers at a U.S. barracks in Saudi Arabia. Sayegh was arrested on suspicion of being "engaged in terrorism" and being a threat to "the security of Canada," the paper said.

## FEDERAL RACISM

A human rights tribunal ordered Health Canada to implement quotas and start hiring visible minorities for senior management positions after finding evidence of widespread discrimination in the department. The tribunal said it found evidence of a "consistent failure to promote" minorities. Health Minister David Dingwall said his department will comply.

## UNHAPPY MILLIONAIRE

Quebec Superior Court Judge André Desrosiers ordered a Montreal woman who won \$2.1 million in a lottery to pay her estranged, impoverished partner a \$1,500 monthly allowance for three years. The woman was thrown out of the house at age 14 because of her "behavior with boys." Desrosiers called it "a sad family tale."



Taking a stand against the Hells Angels in Saint-Nicholas: deadly

## A war on biker gangs

It was time to ask for help, Quebec, having failed to curb a deadly motorcycle gang. Now, asked the federal government to implement tougher laws, the Justice Minister Jean Rock was cautious last week, saying any new law to combat the ongoing battle between the Rock Machine and the Hells Angels over control of the province's illegal drug trade must not infringe on constitutional rights.

"There's no sense proposing a law which in a month or six months might be struck down by a court as 'broad,'" Rock said after meeting with Quebec Justice Minister Paul Bégin and a dozen mayors from the Quebec City area. "That would be a cruel blow for the families and for the citizens who are looking to live in hope and to restore tranquility."

The biker turf war has killed 38 people, including two men who were blown up last week outside a Montreal-area bar. On March 6, a car bomb in a residential neighborhood of Saint-Nicholas near Quebec City scattered shards of glass on a one-month-old baby. That prompted a demonstration by hundreds of residents outside the local Angels' clubhouse. Bégin wants to make Bégin be a member of a motorcycle gang. He was warning gang members who are caught with explosives sentenced to at least four years in jail. Rock said he would try to bring in legislation after the Easter break and before a federal election, which could be held later this spring.

## JUSTICE

## Somalia, Part 2

For months, the federal government has ignored relatives' criticism over its decision to end the Somalia inquiry before it was even so heard. Last week, it tried to contain the damage by announcing the creation of a "task force" to look into the deaths of 100 soldiers and 100 civilians. But the committee is to be chaired by a former justice minister, Robert Foulke, and his former deputy minister, Robert Foulke, may be compared to a senior justice minister before the Somalia committee. The hearings are likely to begin next month, but must be suspended during the expected election campaign. And there is no guarantee the committee would be re-elected after the election. It is possible that Tony Sennarich, Minister of Justice, will be a trial case on the public.

## Balancing the books

When it comes to budgets, some provinces have it better than others. In Quebec, where the 1997-1998 fiscal blueprint will be tabled this week, Premier Lucien Bouchard's tough stand on cutting government jobs is opposed by traditionalists. He wants to end the possibility of future strikes. "When the first comes, we have to have more real debate about our place in a metropolitan region," said Lorraine Piché, head of the province's powerful teachers union. But by week's end, Quebec and almost all of its public sector unions had agreed to cut about 15,000 jobs through layoffs and early retirements. The last-minute deal came after the Parti Québécois threatened to impose a 10-per-cent wage cut to help balance the province's budget for the year 2000. The budget is expected to shave \$3.3 billion from the deficit, the largest cut in Quebec's history.

Northeastern, meanwhile, said it will cut 1,000 government jobs over the next three years to help balance its budget by 2000. The current budget, released last week, contains \$90.5 million in cuts and a \$20.5-million deficit. Saskatchewan residents, however, get much better news when their government tabled its financial blueprint for the year 2000. The plan will take almost \$4 billion off the province's accumulated debt and reduce the provincial sales tax to seven per cent from nine.

# Major's last stand

BY BRUCE WALLACE

"Elections, some people say, are tough and grueling businesses," declared Tory Prime Minister John Major, standing in worn spring sunshine outside 10 Downing Street last week as he kicked off what will be Britain's longest general election campaign in 70 years. "But I happen to think they're also a lot of fun." Really? Here is how Major's first two-filled campaign week unfolded.

On Day 1, a new Gallup poll put the sinking Tories 28 points behind the opposition Labour party. "Laudible" would be too modest a term for a Labour win of these proportions. Then *The Sun* newspaper—which showed what it can do in its columns when it orchestrated a vicious but successful smear campaign against Labour during the 1992 election—told its 30 million readers it was time to "give change a chance," and advised voting for Labour's new leader, Tony Blair (see story below). On the fifth day, an ongoing *Guardian* newspaper investigation into so-called government abuse alleged that Major himself admitted that some of his MPs were taking envelopes stuffed with cash and other gifts from lobbyists and businessmen. At the parliamentary session closed with snarling personal attacks on the prime minister's own probity, Major must have wondered if the fan ever gets any better than this.

Nothing if not a great punch-sucker, Major characteristically shrugged off the bad news. He dismissed the *Guardian* report as "total junk," then grabbed his trademark saxophone and headed off to lead a crowd. The prime minister carried the same battered and tape-banded prop with him during the 1992 campaign, using it to promote his no-fills, honest Blair style. Major believes he can exploit foreign voter suspicions about Blair's credibility, slightly scummy public persona, and his hope for re-election rests on turning this contest into a head-to-head combat with Blair.

In reality, Major has little choice but to go it alone. His party is demoralized. Ministers contradict government policy almost daily. And party factions are openly positioning themselves for a post-electoral leadership race. The strident anti-European in the Tory party chafe under Major's squawking over European union, and many regard a crumbling deficit as an opportunity to take control of the



The prime minister chatting to schoolkids last week: "I think that we are going to win"

party. For now, all signs point to them getting their chance after May 1, the polling day likely to end a run of Tory rule begun by Margaret Thatcher in 1979.

On the surface, any British government should be popular enough to get re-elected these days. The country is basking in a fuzzy national euphoria, a glow deeply spawned by a healthy economy. Politically, the key indicator is unemployment, now at a 10-year low of 8.2 per cent—a level virtually unknown in continental Europe where a jobless crisis is shaking governments and underpinning the rush to further European union (page 38). The Tories have deregulated and privatized state companies. The mood among the financial whizzes in the City of London remains tremendously optimistic. Real estate prices are pushing back up after years of decline. But the Tories are spreading in the paces. Why? The Tories ask voters, run the risk of spilling it all now by chucking out the government that brought you the good news? Or, as Major put it at a dark dinner from his saxophone last week, "I see behind the front rain, the old face of Labour, waiting to pay off their debts to left-wing interest groups."

So far, however, most voters are convinced that Blair has indeed needed Labour's old tax-and-spend socialist ways, and that changing governments will mean business as usual. Since winning the leadership three years ago, Blair has taken the lion's share of the party's Marxist-Leninist disciples, marginalizing or chasing away the few he could not convert to his policy of modernization. Tories may be suspicious of his political direction, but Labour's old hard-left disciples have for it. Its press standards Blair will undermine no "tools of production." Such tools are unlikely to see their brass rise—at least at first. No spending organs are planned. And it is hard to tell which of the two main parties is more of a gambling addict when it comes to issues of crime and punishment. For subscribers to the "death of history" theory, where ideology no longer plays a role in government, Blair's New Labour is Exhibit A. Even Thatcher has privately expressed admiration for him. "I do not think everything that has happened in the last 18 years has been bad," Blair said last week on a campaign swing through Gloucester. "My attitude is: keep what is working and change what is not."

Blair is charming, too, with the big business grin, which is where most of his power lies. Murdoch's corner in Murdoch's alliance in Britain extends from his ownership of popular tabloid papers like *The Sun* to the more weighty *Times* of London and the country's only satellite broadcasting system. His endorsement of Blair was significant, though probably as much to his surprise—Murdoch can read the polls. But it signified a transformation of Labour's evolution from its old status-dependent, elitist reputation with a man whom Labour has long regarded as a man for evil.

The hostility dates from 1986 when the Australian native accused Britain's once-powerful press empire. With Thatcher's blessing, Murdoch started production of his papers from Fleet Street to new facilities in east London against the union's will, and fired hundreds of allegedly striking workers who refused to report. After months of ranting, the union cared it, but Murdoch and Labour re-

mined at war. In 1992, *The Sun* ridiculed the Labour leader Neil Kinnock during a close campaign with an election-day front page that warned: "If Kinnock wins today, will the last person to leave Britain please turn out the lights." Blair's wife, Cherie, still refuses to let *The Sun* into their house.

But since the tabloid's power could not be ignored, Blair tried at least to neutralize it. "The relationship between the trade unions and Fleet Street was always, let's be honest, 'as bad as it can be,'" he said in an interview with the tabloid-driven *New Statesman* magazine last week, avowing Murdoch's endorsement. For Murdoch, the potential benefits are also huge: he is currently bidding to provide a new digital television service to Britain, and fears that a hostile government (such as one filled by Labour members with long memories) might introduce a law preventing such extensive cross-media ownership. His worries are on one end. In Blair's New Statesman interview, the prime minister said he was "not sure" of any such link—though he stressed that "we've never ruled out policies with Rupert Murdoch in return for the support of his papers."

## Britain's leader calls an election that he must fight virtually on his own



Blair holds Murdoch's endorsement; most voters believe that changing governments will mean business as usual

Murdoch's shine to Blair even included proffering the endorsement of the Scottish Sun, which for the past five years has been one of the loudest voices demanding Scottish independence and normally backs the Scottish National Party. Blair's overtures to Scotland go only so far as a separate parliament with limited powers. He wants to satisfy provinces north of the border while preserving the Union. But *The Sun* went into commentaries to condemn Blair last week, arguing that Labour's industrial revolution proposals were actually the best way to get full independence (somehow! like suggesting that Quebec independence would mean that faster under a Quebec Liberal government than a Parti Québécois one).

It is on constitutional issues such as the future of Scotland that Labour and the Tories truly differ. Having cut off Labour are rivers off, cold turkey, from their socialist economic theories, Blair has allowed them to bandy around a range of constitutional changes. As a sort of political roulette match the three redoubt cravings. A Labour government is pledged to give the Scots and Welsh their own parliaments while retaining their seats at Westminster, although the tricky issue of where that leaves England's voters has yet to be resolved. Labour has also vowed to end the right of hereditary peers to vote in the House of Lords.

Major sees an opportunity to take voters from Labour on those points. He campaigned as a champion of the Union in 1992, and warns that Labour's tinkering could unravel it. In British systems all the way up to the monarchy. His best shot is recovery will come during two televised leaders' debates, Britain's last ever. He remains an optimist. "Not only do I think it's winnable, but I think that we are going to win this election," Major said somewhat nervously the day he dropped the writ last week. But it will be a lonely fight. □



WORLD ■ EUROPE

# A challenge in the streets

This is a crucial year for the European Union. Britain's May 1 election may lead to a more Euro-friendly government as a member state at odds with the increasingly integrated association. In June, leaders of all 15 EU countries will meet here to make a landmark single currency and discuss expanding outside. Not everyone is convinced by EU politics in rising across the continent. To take soundings on the state of the Union in two crucial countries, Maclean's London Bureau Chief Bruce Wallace traveled through the region where France and Germany meet. His report:

Old comes in two forms in the webbing cove town of Baden-Baden, perched on the edge of Germany's Black Forest in the Rhine River valley. There is the solid, marmaladed water that erupts out of the earth and trickles back down the mountainside into blond spouts, to be melted in an elixir for adon and adon. And there is the musical clink of gambling chips colliding on the left of its casino, still the most money-spending in town.

The combination of thermal baths and gambling made the resort a favorite playground for Europe's aristocracy in the mid 19th century, when it called itself the Summer Capital of Europe. And Baden-Baden still likes to think of itself as a most European of towns.

"This has always been a very European place, just awaiting to duck the worst of European history," says Renate Effers, a local historian who is writing about the Russian connection to Baden-Baden. The town's vocation was inevitably torn against the descending European wars that so often ruled around it. Unlike most other cities along the Rhine, Baden-Baden was never bombed by the Allies—the French had wisely picked the town ahead of time as a comfortable place to put their headquarters for the postwar occupation (where Canadian troops were among those NATO allies to be personally benefited). The French have better than to turn it to rubble—they had been among Baden-Baden's most frequent tourists.

The Russians have also long been visitors to Baden-Baden, ever since the early 1800s when Czar Alexander I stopped off to recuperate on his way back to Moscow after subduing Napoleon's army. On Baden-Baden's old cobblestone streets, well-dressed ladies still walk their lambskin coats and bags on long leather pads like the house where Eyedler Donatzeny wrote his novel *The Gambler* a century and a half ago. Now, Russia's new business aristocracy are coming back to gamble.

"The spirit of 19th-century Europe is still alive here," says Effers, strong in a call located in the graceful building that was once home to the White Russian Gagarin family. "Baden-Baden is Europe like it should be—but so often isn't."

Effers' "Europe" remains a state of mind, found intellectually and emotionally out of a childhood spent in the postwar wreckage of its last great national coalition. But the attempt to create a politically unified

Europe still meets resistance—even in cosmopolitan corners like Baden-Baden. Across the Lattenlinden promenade, in the opulent casino built by a Frenchman in 1832 and now used as the palace at Versailles, newly retired manager Robert Fetting, 64, sits and worries. He worries about the new gaming house in Stuttgart that is poisoning many of his customers. He admits to living about his casino retirement. And he shares the widespread German worry about plans by European Union governments to swap their currencies—including the revered Deutsche—for an united single currency called the euro beginning in 1999.

As long as things were good, most Germans kept any anxieties about dropping the mark to themselves. "For so long, Germans have enjoyed such a good life that no one challenged the politicians," says Fetting. "We are the world champions of holidaymakers, so very worry about politics?" But now there are 4.8 million unemployed Germans on public benefits, the highest figure since the 1930s. And the government has vowed to make further spending cuts—all in the name of meeting the rapid fiscal demands of the new single currency. "It is a huge gamble," sighs Fetting, who speaks with more than thirty times the cost of the art of risk. "Look how expensive restructuring Germany has turned out to be—and everyone thought that was a good idea in the first."

A cold fear has washed over Europe. Rich and strong unemployment has made life uncomfortable for politicians and downright dangerous in places for such easy scapegoats as immigrants. "Europe has never existed," says the late Jean Monnet, a founding father of the modern European movement in the 1950s. "It has to be created." But European union remains the holy of political and economic crisis. The emotional arguments against integration are being made in the streets—and Europe's leaders are in retreat.

The Rhine valley is an attractive place to outsiders. The forces that have brought Europe to the brink of this leap of societal faith. The Rhine is easy river. It curves a natural border through the heart of western

Europe, passing by—but not through—the cities along its shores, a historic dividing line. Fetting still recalls the sweltering heat of summer on the toasty guarded French banks as a boy. It is also a river of commerce, where at times the water widens and the river traffic gets thicker and the Rhine of industry's exhaust swirls its currents. Then there is the romantic Rhine, inspired by romantic tales of medieval princes, and the barges open from the river's banks. But most terribly the Rhine has been a river of war. The Roman Empire besieged it a still-visible trail of forts, and its banks

When the Allies finally blasted their way across the river, they crossed at Strassburg on the only bridge still standing.

Today, crossing the Rhine is as simple as a drive to the corner store. At Strassburg, bored French grandmothers wave cars across the 37-year-old Europe Bridge from the German side, the need to look slightly the only nod to the presence of a border in this new era of a converging Europe. Strassburg is the capital of France's Alsace region, a prosperous land of rolling hills coated by farms and vineyards that has changed hands in wars between France and Germany four times. It now also proclaims itself the capital of Europe, home to the European Parliament and the European Court of Human Rights.

As witness to the destructive powers of Europe's civil war, this modest city of gabled houses and muddy cobbles symbolizes the common's costs of reconciliation. "The idea of another German invasion is preposterous now," says Claude Tissot, who has a vision of peace in a nearby Schlossberg that preserves one of the concrete bunkers from the old Maginot Line, France's ill-fated Second World War defense network against the Germans. "The only need for a Maginot Line now is to have something to show the tourists."

But the idea of a united Europe has never been so close to their goal, neither have they ever faced such concerted resistance. Their strategy has always been to force direct economic ties across Europe either to pull political union along in tow, or to force Germany to join the Chancellor Helmut Kohl—who has thumped euro banks than any other European statesman in the name of joining Europe's unity forward—calls the process of integration "irreversible."

Kohl has warned repeatedly that what is at stake over European union is something less than "a question of war and peace in Europe." He, too, comes from the Rhine—the older Rhine, industrial city of Ludwigshafen. His father was a survivor of the First World War



## Popular anger is rising over the plan for European unity

sealed up the slaughter of the Thirty Years' War in 1638 in the 13th century, French and German poets harked national claims to its ownership in rhyme. The Rhine is sacred by the arcane of war and peace and counter movements, battles that ended only with the collapse of the last Nazi defenses on its western banks in the winter of 1945.

## Just a coin, on the face of it

Of all the difficulties facing the squabbling members of the European Union, designing a coin to represent a new single currency should be among the easiest. Pocket change today doesn't look radically different from the ancient Roman pieces archeologists still dig up. The EU's 15 finance ministers may disagree about which countries should qualify for the new euro, as it is known. But surely they could agree on the coin's look. And EU-submitted piggy banks by the French minister in charge met in Brussels last week to translate the design into reality. Some wanted to make the coin worth about \$1.50 euro-sided instead of round to help the blind. But, noted German officials, who said a jagged-edged coin would stick in German vending

machines. Make the coins out of nickel? Never, said Swedish advisers, claiming that a fifth of Sweden's coins are already made of metal. The Swedes say an alloy called nickel gold is their lower and want their European partners to do the same. But the other ministers balked at the cost. Perhaps, say EU officials so far, the alloy affects only the Swedes.

Actually, the design in Europe-wide—is an allegory to surrounding any national characteristics that a country wish the EU cannot even stand on its telephone jacks. Attempts to design recognizable paper money were nixed only by putting anonymous landmarks on the bills and those were subsequently scrapped. Europe's political classes all talk the talk about the need to harmonize policies. It's just the devilish details that get in the way.

shepherd at Verdun. His older brother, Walter, was killed in the second war. Kohl lived through the Allied bombing and, when it ended, staged a teenage protest at the Franco-German border calling for an open Europe. As Chancellor, he held hands with the late French president François Mitterrand at Verdun in 1988, a symbolic blending of Europe's greatest rivalry. In Kohl's political world, European dissenters are branded with the label German nationalists—and everyone knows what they are up to. As Mitterrand was fond of saying, "Nationalism is evil."

But the concentration of leaders with firsthand experience of Germany's last bout of adversarialism is fading from the scene. Only Kohl remains. And opposition to European unity comes from several political directions. Social democrats and unconstructed leftists fear that a liberalized European single market will undermine the welfare, generous social safety nets. They might as well double "Europe" in principle. But they don't like the free-market jargon it is becoming.

Other dissent comes from right-wing nationalists, such as France's extremist leader Jean-Marie Le Pen. Le Pen's National Front party is now sweeping the French political arena in its way with its anti-European, and immigrant, pro-French cultural policies. And it draws sustenance from a deep suspicion of the powerful European bureaucracy working out of Brussels, widely derided as being out of touch and clinging about to national differences.

Paradoxically, the National Front is strongest in the Alsace region, where support for the European Union is also the highest in France. Such polarization brings out very different both sides with little compromise. "These European politicians are all liars and thieves who suck our taxes to give away to people who don't even want to work," says Alsace restaurateur owner Daniel Kunkel, whose restaurant caters to tourists who make the steep backwoods climb to see Le Strohle, a Nazi concentration camp built in France. The pro-European are just as ready for a fight. Last week, the two sides were mobilizing to meet on the pavement in Strasbourg on March 28, where the National Front is holding a convention. Trouble can be counted on.

The rapidly approaching start-up date of the single currency has only stoked these emotions. The core of opposition from the deconstruction of Germany's powerful central bankers to safeguard the value of the new currency. The Germans' historical memory

of 1920s hyperinflation has dictated their economic policy: the fear of the loss of jobs during the Great Depression affected Ostalder economic orthodoxy for generations after the war. Since the arrival of the euro will mean surrendering the solid, inflation-proof mark, the Germans insisted that countries using the euro could not run high budget deficits. They recoiled from slapping a currency with people "south of the Alps," at

least on the head of the single currency. "We are proud of a system that has run with great success for some decades," says Dr. Klaus Dinsch, who runs the ICGG therapist clinic in Baden-Baden, which has seen its client list halved since health coverage for "cure" was cut back last year. "Maybe some people took advantage of the state's generosity. Maybe Germans don't work as hard as they think they do. But just because some people cheat and get on the structure for free, do you shut down the structure?"

The backlash has brought thousands of angry citizens onto the streets, carrying banners with slogans like "Europe, a social cemetery." When Kohl tried to cut huge state subsidies to Germany's inefficient coal industries this month, miners closed roads, marched on Bonn and locked politicians out of their offices with chains. "Germans don't want to give up their pampered paradise," says a critical Bertha von Suttner, witness to a huge German dock strike earlier who also markets her own environmentally correct clothing line. "There is still an attitude here that you don't have to work. And the more the economy fails, the more you see the old nationalism creeping back."

Kohl backed down—in part—to the miners, following the familiar pattern of retreat by European governments. The conservative French government of President Jacques Chirac, despite its desperation to get spending under the Maastricht ceiling, has still been forced to back away from several unpopular budget measures when confronted by protesting protesters in a French optimism poll this month, 70 per cent of respondents said current economic conditions leave them either "satisfied" or "ready to rebel." And one of the best-selling books in France is *Recessions' Rovers*, a scathing take of pop economics and political

politics warning of the supposed perils of loosening labor laws.

Meanwhile, some private estimates now suggest that even Germany will not meet the three-per-cent target, opening the possibility that the euro will either be delayed or de facto failed. So, Kohl refuses to hedge, insisting that delay would hurt momentum and, effectively, the single currency. He should not be counted out. Kohl's showboating may see the reunification of Germany through, and uniting Europe is his last magnificent feat. The coming months will show whether there can be a Europe truly without borders—and whether it is possible to create more than just a Europe of the mind. □



Nikemans' (left) and Kohl, Erig (right)

## World NOTES

### REBEL GAINS IN ZAIRE

As ruling President Mobutu Sise Selo, 66, returned to a chaotic Zaire from his villa in the French Riviera, rebel spokesmen rejected his call for a ceasefire before then. Rebel leader Laurent Kabila arrived in a heavily armed plane in the key eastern city of Kisumu, which his forces had recently captured. Kabila called for negotiations before any force and demanded that Mobutu step down.

### A NEW CIA NOMINEE

U.S. President Bill Clinton named a career spy as director of the Central Intelligence Agency after his first two candidates, former national security adviser Anthony Lewis, withdrew last week after calling a "risky and brittle" State confirmation hearing. The new nominee is acting CIA director George Tenet, 44, who is expected to be confirmed in April.

### NORTH KOREAN MOVE

After five weeks inside South Korea's Beijing embassy, North Korean leader Kim Jong Il, 37, the most senior official ever to defect from North Korea, left for a temporary refuge in Manila, before en route moving to Seoul. The announcement paved the way for China, an old Communist ally of North Korea, but now increasingly friendly with the capitalist South.

### FLORIDA MURDER-SUICIDE

Huge debts led a half-millionaire from Canada to kill his wife, 48-year-old son and then himself in West Palm Beach, Fla. Former Beverly Hills resident Robert Moulton, 72, shot his family with a .38-caliber handgun. A five-page suicide note said the parents did not want to burden anyone with raising their son and they felt he would be scared by their deaths. It also said they attempted murder-suicide by carbon monoxide poisoning in January, but the police talked them out of it midway through.

### HANGING FOR RAPE?

Nearly 50 per cent of South African women want the death penalty reinstated for rape, a poll showed, after a spate of gruesome sexual crimes. The poll was the world's highest rape survey, with more than half of the United States. A third of the victims are women. South Africa scrapped the death penalty in 1995.



Yehudis, wounded at bombed cafe, a suicide attack claimed by Hamas

## Terror in Tel Aviv as clashes escalate

Among the wounded in a Tel Aviv bomb attack last week was a baby wearing a civilian costume to celebrate the festival of Purim, marking the release of Jews from genocide in ancient Persia. Her costume in an act, the baby was rushed to intensive care along with her mother. "The mother's whole face was burned, without an ear, and a mess," said an Israeli medic. The Islamic militant group Hamas claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing, which killed four people, in

buildings began work on a Jewish housing settlement bitterly opposed by Palestinians. Local Arabs say the project pre-empted future talks on the final status of Jerusalem, which both peoples now as their capital. Several people were treated in hospital after bomb attacks as several racks and firebombs with tear gas and rubber bullets. Palestinian police co-operated with the Israelis to keep order. But at week's end, new skirmishes erupted near the West Bank city of Hebron.

### ALBANIA

## Hints of compromise

After a week of chaos, hard-line Albania reversed some elements of its policy. In Tirana and other southern areas, security forces began relaxing to

their abandoned posts. Rebel forces who control the south dropped. Threat to set up a rebel government and which into Tirana unless President Sali Berisha stopped them immediately. After their deadline passed, the rebels agreed to go south with a request that could only government under Prime Minister Ibrahim Fico. But they still

estimated Berisha's army. The conflict is president has asked to strengthen police, which it is in the midst of. Police in Tirana are on edge. The Albanian ministry to come up with a way to repay money Albania has lost in a study previously touched off the popular uprising in January.

## A modest summit deal

U.S. President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin put an upbeat spin on the outcome of their two-day summit in Helsinki. But despite some progress, serious problems remained. The two presidents agreed to disagree as NATO's commitment to admit former Warsaw Pact members Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into the security alliance, which Rus-

said would be called the "Season of the Eight" when it meets in Moscow in June. To carry out those plans, Yeltsin must overcome a hostile parliament and Clinton will have to persuade other nations. Japan, for one, is reluctant to see Russia upgraded from observer to full member status in the G-7. Yeltsin's constant moves in Helsinki, said analysts, was appearing strong and vigorous after nearly a year of health



Flagship  
store in Toronto  
the chain is  
taking lost



Kitchener's  
City, left, and  
Franklin, fighting  
to reverse the  
case

## Down, but not out, in Kitchener

They used to call it progress. At least, that was the word that local politicians in Kitchener, Ont., used 24 years ago when they tore down the city's downtown city hall and replaced it with a hulking, downtown shopping mall at the corner of King and Frederick streets. Mayor Square opened in 1973 with a glittering array of nationally known chain stores and a prestigious anchor tenant, a four-story Eaton's department store. While many residents mourned the destruction of city hall, councilors assured them that this new mall guaranteed the downtown's future as a thriving commercial centre, and would lure back shoppers who were straying to suburbs.

So much for progress. Market Square failed to halt the exodus of retail office tenants, who fled the core area in the late 1980s and early 1990s in search of new space and convenient, free parking. The mall was also powerless to stop a succession of downtown store closures, as shop owners succumbed to the lack of pedestrian traffic, economic downturns, and competition from Market Square's retail tenants. Even as Kitchener's economy thrived—the city's unemployment rate is a relatively low 8.1 per cent—the downtown was flailing on its own terms.

In an ominous move, Eaton's closed the store's basement level two years ago. Today, the 200,000-square-metre mall is half-empty and Eaton's itself is on the brink of abandoning the city of 180,000 after almost 70 years. The shoppers such as Pat Weisberg, the almost-certain co-owner of the Eaton's Kitchener store

lose the Eaton's name off our main street, we believe that Kitchener's downtown will hold its own."

Eaton's began questioning its future in Kitchener two years ago, when Mayor Square was put up for sale by Cambridge Shopping Centres Ltd. of Toronto. Christy met with John Ching Eaton, chairman of Eaton's of Canada Ltd., in May, 1992, to assure him that the city was working hard to bring people back downtown.

Ironically, part of Kitchener's revitalization plan was the construction of a new city hall as the heart of downtown. In a quickly evolving retail climate, the city has come to realize that it can no longer depend on a mall or department store to spur downtown development. "You have to find your own identity," says John Frenette, the city's director of downtown development. In Kitchener's case, that means creating downtown into a "meeting place" by supporting arts and cultural events. The retail agenda has also been revised to focus on specialty shops that offer a "unique shopping experience."

The strategy is beginning to work, Frenette says. Kitchener's vacancy rate for downtown office space declined from 36 per cent in December, 1990, to 31 per cent at the end of last year, and the number of downtown businesses has increased in the past two years. The city has been less successful in filling large retail spaces such as the 12,000 square metres that Eaton's is about to vacate. Eight years after Gaudin's, a local department store, went out of business, a ghostly building still stands empty. Data Group Inc., a local developer that bought Market Square last summer with millions of dollars from European investors, admits there is little chance of attracting another national department store to the mall. "The reality is probably slim to none," says Audrey Wilson, the mall's general manager.

That is bad news for the 25 other merchants who currently share the mall. Amir Nadeau, owner of La Salsa, says he counts on the up-and-coming business that Eaton's generates. "I heard that some of the people are already planning to move out from here as their lease comes up," he says.

The options may be more limited for the 90 full-time and part-time Eaton's employees who will lose their jobs when the Market Square store closes. Employees such as 22-year-old Amy Schmitt, the ladies' fashion manager, however, say the downtown location is easy to blame for the store's misfortunes than Eaton's management. "Eaton's has always treated their employees very respectfully," she says. "We can all speculate about our future, but I think we'll just wait a bit because we believe the company has a good future. Unfortunately, that may not coincide with the interests of its employees or critics such as Kitchener."

JOHN SCHMITT in Kitchener

may not have been the final straw for a downtown that is struggling to move itself. "Once Eaton's is gone, that's it for the downtown area," says Murphy, as she browses through the children's wear section. "The downtown core is dead."

The demise of other downtown Eaton's stores could be just as devastating for cities such as Winnipeg, Sherbrooke, Ont., and Brantford, Man., where the city centres are already withering. Nearly half of the 31 stores targeted for possible closure are located in core areas. Some mayors, such as Mike Bradley of Sherbrooke, Ont., are refusing to let the city's shopping megalopolis build together to fight the threatened closures. But Kitchener Mayor Richard Christy, who held reach of his campaign in 1994 on promises to renew the downtown, seems ready to accept the inevitable. "Even though it would be a shame to

partly relinquished it had retained a prominent address RBC Dominion Securities in Toronto and Goldman Sachs in New York with a view to merging or selling the restaurant chain. That news came just days after Eaton's announced that it had put 38 Eaton stores across seven provinces on a "review list" that will see the stores closed, sold, or in the best-case scenario, lumped on blankets to re-geared leases. The list spans the Atlantic from Victoria to the historic Portage Avenue store in Winnipeg to the Carleton Place location in Lakeshore, Que. The news, says Winnipeg Mayor Simon Thompson, who at 19 sold Eaton's wear in the store's largest basement, was "devastating." But hardly surprising: Last

expected by New York City brokerage BGS Securities. BGS represents a number of so-called vulture funds. High-risk investors who buy up the debt of bankrupt and near-bankrupts. BGS offered Chaplick \$8 cents for every dollar owed to him by Eaton's. "We couldn't say 'yes' fast enough," says Chaplick. The advantages? Chaplick gets his money now without, as he puts it, having to wait out the details of "some cockamamie restructuring plan."

Chaplick had been burned by financial workouts before, as one instance involving mere pennies on the dollar for his receivers. And he has had more than enough headaches of late, what with such Bessemerco clients as Creditors Distributing going under. So Chaplick took the money and ran. "Look," he says firmly of his relationship with Eaton's, "we're done."

As he stalked other Eaton's suppliers. Scott Donohue at BGS, which stands for bankrupt, dismissed any special situations, says

# Cultures closing in

## Eaton's creditors may decide the empire's ultimate fate

BY JENNIFER WELLS

There was a time when Eaton's was a pretty big customer in Moray Chaplick's books, maybe \$1 million big in annual orders for the video games, computers and other products that Chaplick distributed through his company, Bessemerco Canada Inc. But the relationship never quite jelled. The retailer, says Chaplick, was heavy with what he calls an "old guard of management" who certainly did not adapt to the '80s. No way, so he knew.

When Eaton's filed for bankruptcy protection on Feb. 27, Bessemerco was one of a slew of trade creditors who were owed a total of \$100 million. Bessemerco had a relatively small \$150,000 outstanding, an amount that the company could have easily absorbed. But Chaplick did not have to do that. By mid-March, he was called upon

## BUSINESS

year, Eaton's closed all the top two floors of the Portage store, a little, too-little decision to live by the chronically troubled store.

It is not that most problems were not apparent at Eaton's head offices in Toronto. "We recognized that we had these long stores," says an Eaton's executive. The company's expansion in the 1970s took it into markets that were not large enough to support an Eaton's, particularly where the chain was less active in such competitors as Woodward's and the Bay. In some cases, the stores were too big, and in almost all they were tied to 50-year real estate leases that landlords refused to break or, in most cases, modify. One suburban Toronto store lost a half-million dollars a year through the 1980s, says the former executive. "It was an absolute loss." When interest rates rose to 22 per cent, "the whole structure of financing these things just went into the tank."

As for the legendary Winnipeg store, built in 1905, there were other considerations. When faced with the need to pour the store more than a decade ago, Fred Eaton, who then ran the chain, said, "I'm not going to fix it. That's something my grandfather built." And there were complexities. In Winnipeg's case, Eaton's signed an operating agreement in 1976 when it sold its downtown store to a private owner real estate king Nelson Skalawana. With the plan set to convert the merchandise to a mall, and connect the mall to the Eaton's via a pedestrian walkway, Eaton's continued its operations at the Portage site until May 1994, when the store was sold to Skalawana. With the plan set to convert the merchandise to a mall, and connect the mall to the Eaton's via a pedestrian walkway, Eaton's continued its operations at the Portage site until May 1994, when the store was sold to Skalawana.



Winnipeg's Thompsons, the downtown store could be dismantled

**The company's advisers must persuade tire-kickers that Eaton's can rise again**

With an improving economy in the 1980s, and with a stellar sales performance from, particularly, the Eaton Centre in downtown Toronto, the profitable stores outnumbered the unprofitable ones. That balance shifted after 1990, as another recession, the GST and cross-border shopping hampered the chain. Headed off by landlords, the company started to sell off its real estate investments in city liquid (Eaton's of Canada Ltd., the real estate parent company, still owns a 20-per-cent equity position in the Toronto Eaton Centre and has equity stakes in 15 other malls). According to the former executive, closing individual stores and walking away was deemed too risky, both from a public relations perspective and because the company assumed that spurned landlords, fearing that economic disaster would befall other mall tenants, would seek court orders to force Eaton's to keep or rebuild stores open.

That explains why Eaton's, having been unable to transfer losses to other retailers, continued to run a string of dreadful stores. Two weeks ago, BGS Securities sent scouts to Toronto to see for themselves what these stores look like. They went to the Eaton's at Yonge Street and Eglinton Avenue in uptown Toronto, a single-store cornered building away in a mall mall. "We didn't get it," says Deane of the store. They also made a trip to the top-of-the-line

Eaton Centre store, into which the company has recently pumped millions in renovation dollars. Deane describes the Eaton's store as well as a "terrible floorplan," a "mess store."

Not exactly a ringing endorsement. But adding candle-dinners is something that U.S. retailers are very good at. It is now the job of BNC Denzons and Goldman Sachs to convince tire-kickers that, once it is pared to its top locations, Eaton's can be fashioned into a thriving retailer once again. At BNC, that job falls to Peter Suter, vice-president and director of mergers and acquisitions. As the meetings, other creditors, including Kwikie Leasing, which is owed \$7 million by Eaton's, have been ordered by an Ontario Court judge to form a creditors' committee. Suter and others had hoped that the court would allow them to retrieve goods shipped to Eaton's

in the 30 days prior to the CCAA announcement. That application was rejected. Next week, the court will make public for the first time the full list of the company's creditors, and a breakdown of the assets owed to each. "It's the first step in finding out what's on the line," says Toronto bankruptcy lawyer Paul Bennett, who represents employees' pension funds, which own \$1.3 million. Bennett blames the paucity of rules under CCAA for the lack of information that has been made available to date.

Overstuffed by Eaton's tale that remains particularly true is the company's credit record operations, which manage both Eaton's own credit card and private label, or "third-party," cards for other companies. Eaton's credit business has been consistently profitable. As noted by Bennett, which owned \$1.3 million. Bennett blames the paucity of rules under CCAA for the lack of information that has been made available to date.

the restructuring proceedings. Earlier this month, the court appointed consulting firm KPMG Inc. to examine intercompany transactions, a move spurred by the transfer in December of \$20 million from the retailer to Eaton's of Canada Ltd., which is owned by the four Eaton brothers, Fred, Julia, George, and Tom. On March 4, Eaton's announced that it reversed the financial transfer. KPMG will confirm last week that its examination of intercompany transfers will include those out of the credit operations.

While such details hold enormous interest for the creditor groups, others, such as Mayor Brian Thompson, are preoccupied with limiting the damage that the cost of Eaton's would do to their cities. Winnipeg 2003, the city's economic development corporation, is desperately trying to find a solution. There is a shortage of shops. Moving the CBC into the Portage mall or the Winnipeg Free Press. Putting a call centre on the top two floors and putting that a retailer is interested in the other six floors. Thompson actually talks of Woodward's. Or Macy's. Thompson acknowledges that Winnipeg's downtown has been terribly troubled for years. Without Eaton's, without that landmark building, it is hard to imagine how the downtown can make a comeback. □



Donations events in the phone line are challenged

## BUSINESS

# SaskTel on the line

When Manitoba Telephone Services was privatized last late year, it left SaskTel as the last government-owned phone company in Canada. Now, a growing number of people believe that SaskTel's days as a Crown corporation may be numbered. In an era of intense long-distance competition, and with rivals for local service on the horizon, many argue that SaskTel could operate more efficiently as a private company. In his more candid moments, even Saskatchewan NDP Premier Ray Chanos wonders if his government should stay in the phone business while others have bailed out. "What is it that we know that other people don't?" Chanos pointedly asks. It's a good question.

At one time as the Princes, governments and telephone companies were practically inseparable. Seen as "natural monopolies" because of the huge cost of installing a wired network, telephone markets were the exclusive domain of Crown corporations, whose job was to make phone service affordable—especially for rural customers. Over the past eight years, however, both the Alberta and Manitoba governments have sold their phone companies, arguing that private companies are better able to cope in a industry that has rapidly evolved from simply monopoly to competitive battleground.

The challenge for Reorganized SaskTel is to demonstrate that it can continue to serve the market while fulfilling public policy goals. Judging by last week's provincial budget, it is possible to size business with politics. The province's latest consecutive bid-

corporation cannot do well. Angus says "The key problem is that SaskTel is small. I don't think it has the capital to do well in the long haul, or get the access to capital it needs."

Moreover, SaskTel's impressive track record is in a sense deceiving because it operates in an artificial environment. The company has been spared the full impact of phone competition by an unusual deal struck between Boreman and then a Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1988. In exchange for his support of the shrewdly Charbonneau constitutional accord, Boreman negotiated an agreement that shielded SaskTel from long-distance competition for five years, beginning in October, 1990. Last year, SaskTel voluntarily introduced long-distance competition for SaskTel and opened the gates to full competition with Sprint and AT&T among others. But the province—rather than the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, which holds sway in the rest of the country—continues to set the terms of engagement. "They [the Saskatchewan government] hold all the cards," complains Jean Boreman, vice-president of regulatory affairs for Sprint Canada. In that protected environment, SaskTel has demanded higher connection and subsidy fees to use its network than its distant competitors pay in most other provinces.

Unless the current agreement is extended beyond its October, 1994, expiration, Saskatchewan will lose regulatory control of the Crown corporation to the CRTC. If that happens, private firms will surely seek more influence—particularly in light of a recent wave of Crown corporations that concluded that the Saskatchewan government could raise \$900 million in public debt.

But SaskTel president Don Chubb, a close friend of Boreman and a former public enterprise, says that the question of SaskTel's future isn't complicated. "If we do a good job and continue to be a good money-maker and provide people with good service, then people will support us and we'll remain a Crown corporation," says Chubb. So for SaskTel, the road to growth lies in a year of local long-distance competition, and four months of head-to-head battle with Sprint and AT&T. SaskTel still has 35 per cent of the province's long-distance market. If those numbers hold, SaskTel just might defy conventional wisdom.

DANIEL BISHOP

**Canada's last public phone firm may vanish**

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# The Bottom Line

## Getting back to basics

**I**t is noted with regret that the Ford Motor Co. has decided to stop out-producing the Thunderbird. Twenty years ago, this car was the essence of automotive cool. But consumers are a fickle lot, and annual T-bird sales are down to about 80,000 from their 1977 peak of more than 125,000.

The styles and tastes that define what is cool are changing more quickly than ever. At Christmas, shoppers literally fought to buy Tiddie McElmo dolls. Three months later, the newest car, Buick Bolero, has tossed Elmo onto the remainder heap. Keeping manufacturers up-to-date on the latest trend

analysis wonder if he has the right stuff because he has held important to numerous employee concerns and has hired consultants to help ease the pain of layoffs.

Perhaps it is time for a return to a simpler approach—something along the lines described by Aiken Zimmerman, the veteran Canadian CEO and director of Noranda, in his new book, *What's an Owner, How, Anyway?*

In his management manual, which began in the 1950s, Zimmerman says: "Laissez-faire or good family in mind, no grand design or sequence of five-year plans. I simply did my job as best I could, and the rest seemed to fall in place. Organizing or compensation belongs very far away to those and further according to the latest management theory was also to me."

Media mogul Conrad Black has dismissed Zimmerman—among others—as an "obedient nut" in a 1995 book, *Letters to My Son*. But after years of thinking about, there is an appeal to the back-to-basics approach to management outlined by Zimmerman—even if it entails bucking common wisdom.

Consider, after all, the New Age allegations that some managers are now endorsing. This year, international business leaders flocked to sessions at the Singapore World Economic Forum in Dares, Switzerland. U.S. Business Press Secretary told the gathering of business and political leaders that, according to a 1995 survey, the best companies in the world in which you are born is a family values approach to problem-solving.

Then there's Richard Jenrette, the man who saved Loblaws Ltd. from collapse. He believes handwriting analysis and zodiac charts are important management guides. As an Anus, he traced many of Loblaws's problems to the fact that there were too many dogs on the board of directors.

With all the ink spilled on the theories of corporate governance and directors' liabilities, maybe the Age of Aquarius has dawned in the boardrooms. And that's one management notion that's really cool.

**Management trends seem to change by the week. Maybe it is time for bosses to try a simpler way.**

### PIPELINE FEVER

TransCanada Pipelines Ltd. said it will spend \$5.4 billion to expand its network in the United States, and \$450-million for pipelines in Mexico. The Calgary company is scrambling to meet the huge North American demand for natural gas. It plans to complete the Mexican project in 1999 and the U.S. pipelines by 2003.

### REICHMANN'S MOVE

Paul Reichmann, who built the Olympia & York real estate empire and then sent it spiralling into insolvency in making his first foray into the equity markets, CIBC Long Term Care Real Estate Investment Trust hopes to raise \$95 million to buy 12 nursing homes. Its board includes former Bank of Canada governor Jean Crow.

### VIVA LAS VEGAS

Peter Muth's real estate company, Theatrical Corp. of Nevada, is moving into gaming territory with its plans to build a \$276-million shopping centre as part of the redevelopment of the Las Vegas hotel and casino complex in Las Vegas. The 40,000-sq-metre retail and entertainment complex will blend in with the "Arabian Nights" theme of the new hotel and casino.

### TICKLE ME BARBIE

The U.S. Federal Trade Commission approved Mattel's sale of a trademark of Tyco Toys Inc., makers of Tickle Me Elmo. The \$7-billion acquisition further strengthens Mattel's position as the world's largest toy-maker. About 3,700 jobs will be lost as a result of the merger.

### SOFTWARE SKILLS CRISIS

A shortage of skilled workers will force software companies to hire up to 3,500 programmers from outside Canada this year, despite the country's high unemployment rate, industry executives claim. More must be done to launch Canadians high-tech skills, they said, adding that up to 12,000 positions may go unfilled in 1997.

### MUTUAL FUND BILLIONS

Canadians invested a record \$11 billion in mutual funds in February, easily surpassing the previous high of \$8 billion set in February 1994. Strong stock markets helped boost the industry's total assets to a whopping \$265.5 billion, or \$7,300 for every Canadian male, women and child.

## A serious blow for tobacco

**I**n a stunning setback for the U.S. tobacco industry, Largett Group Inc., the senior American cigarette company, confessed that smoking is addictive and cancer-causing and said that the industry intentionally markets its products to young people—three allegations that U.S. tobacco companies have steadfastly denied. In a historic settlement between Largett and 23 states that are suing tobacco companies to recover millions of dollars in healthcare costs due to smoking, the company agreed to label its cigarettes as addictive. Largett also pledged to turn over thousands of confidential documents to the states—and to allow employees to testify in continuing lawsuits against the other major U.S. tobacco companies, Philip Morris, R.J. Reynolds, Lorillard and Brown & Williamson. The four companies vowed to fight the handover of documents, and won a temporary restraining order from a judge in



Harold Reagan is a 1988 Largett ad-breaking ranks.

North Carolina—the country's leading tobacco-producing state. Anti-smoking lobbyists and state authorities were jubilant about Largett's confession. Declared Mississippi Attorney General Mike Moore: "This will bring the tobacco companies to their knees."

## Tragedy in Indonesia

**T**he strange tale of the Bussang gold discovery in Indonesia took a tragic turn last week when geologist Mike de Goozen, co-discoverer of the Timor-Lau-on-plus deposit, jumped from a helicopter on route to the project site in Bussang. Indonesian police said de Goozen removed his Rolex watch and placed it in a bag along with a suicide note before

jumping from the helicopter. Steve McNealy, a spokesman for Bussang Minerals Ltd., which owns 45 per cent of Bussang, said de Goozen had recently been diagnosed with hepatitis B. Meanwhile, Bussang stock fell 58.25 to \$15.39 after an Indonesian newspaper said the deposit may not be anywhere near 70 million ounces. Freeport-McMoran Copper & Gold Inc., which acquired 15 per cent of the project last month, is conducting due diligence at the site.

## FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Low interest rates fuelled a continuing late-afternoon rally in January as retail sales rose 1.4 per cent from the previous month. A record \$21.4 billion in exports in January—up 7.9 per cent—increased last December—also suggested a stronger domestic economy. Exports reached a record \$25.5 billion, rising 3.1 per cent from December.

For the third straight month, inflation in February stayed steady at an annual rate of 2.2 per cent in the United States, however, Federal Reserve Board chairman Alan Greenspan issued his strongest warning yet that the Fed may raise interest

rates this month to keep inflation at bay. Bank of Canada governor Gordon Thomson prompted a drop in the dollar by suggesting that lower inflation may allow him to delay raising rates.



"The rebound in retail sales was driven by a 9.6-per-cent surge in British Columbia."

—Bank of Montreal

"Even though mortgage rates have soared up monthly, most Canadians were not moving over their debt at much lower borrowing costs last year, with the estimated interest savings pegged at \$4.55 billion."

—Nadine Burns



# Peter C. Newman

## Upsetting Chrétien's electoral appletart

The election isn't going to be the cakewalk Jean Chrétien's troops hoped it would be. The voters' bristly mood and the deterioration of their opposition leaders to make their grievances loud could even reduce the Liberals to a minority coalition.

At least that's the opinion of Conrad Wren, an Ottawa-based pollster who protects his impartiality by refusing to work for any of the political parties. Combating his 10-year-old consulting firm, which now has more than 100 clients, with a political science professorship at Carleton University, he was the first non-Quebec pollster to predict the Bloc Québécois electoral sweep of Quebec in 1995 and has become something of a guru in reading the public's mood.

At the moment, he is convinced that Canadians will support the Liberals only with enormous margins. "People's misperceptions are so profound," he told me recently, "that the holding of an election campaign might do the Liberal party serious damage. Just as there has been a collapse in brand loyalty among consumers, there is no longer much partisan loyalty among voters. In fact, we have the largest proportion of floaters of any democracy. Almost everyone is undecided, even many of those who made a choice in previous elections to polling organizations. If you're asked an opinion, you usually give it—fit it to the polite thing to do. But few people actually have preferences. Canadian voters are no longer iconoclasts."

Wren reads the national mood as being much less than optimistic and is convinced it is seen that with the integrity of political leaders. "People have a very low tolerance for any kind that they're being fooled with or misled,"

he points out, "and that's where the Liberals are so vulnerable, because of their switch on the GST, the floundering Airbus affair and the cuts to health services when they promised to maintain readiness."

Many voters are found to support the Liberals, on the theory of making with the devil they know. Others will reason that they don't want to trade any political gains, and that the only way to demonstrate their lack of faith is to throw out this set of misdeeds and substitute a new one. The way to do that may be for the opposition leaders to show what's become known as the Johnnie Cochran defense. In his address to the jury of J. Simpson's attorney never claimed that his client was innocent, merely that the Los Angeles Police Department was guilty—no need to send them a message? The three men and one woman who will be leading the charge against the Liberals may be able to persuade voters to vote against the Gerts by saying, OK, maybe Chrétien will be prime minister again, but we know the real thing: his party is doing—no let's read them a message. If enough voters agree, the Liberals could be in big trouble.

Jean Chrétien emerges particularly well in Wren's view, because

every survey he has taken shows that the Tory leader has the highest number of second-choice votes. (Bolson backers are a strict exception—they prefer the Liberal party to the Tories as their alternative.) Tory supporters are also the least likely to switch their ballots. Chrétien's low-cutting platform announced last week was a great start. His magnificent performance in the Quebec referendum demonstrated his powerful campaign style, even if his party is currently in deep trouble in the provinces, with a Wren poll showing a winning of only seven per cent, compared with the Bloc's 49 per cent and the Liberals' 41 per cent.

Reform's main problem is not that the party is too right wing, but that most people are confused about where it stands. Asked by Wren's pollsters in the field what they like best about the Reform party, an astonishing 54 per cent of Canadians replied with a flat "Nothing." Although journalists have made much of certain party officials' racist, anti-immigration attitudes, Wren's poll shows that few voters seem to take these charges seriously.

Still, the Reform party did better than the current poll numbers would suggest because many people don't want to admit they cast their ballots for one of Prime Minister's redneck candidates. Another group plus the party's edge is Deborah Gray, a top-notch campaigner. The NDP also has potential for growth. Even if Alex McDonough has become Canada's most famous invisible woman, she is highly intelligent and has attracted a loyal following. She will never be able to outshine Gray, but she may well be in the tightly controlled TV debates. Like Reform, the socialists could be spoiled in a lot of ridings.

One of the great unknowns in the next campaign will be the national unity plan. There is a highly dangerous, divisive attitude abroad in English Canada that has turned many people off the issue. They want Quebec to stay, but feel that whatever happens in the next referendum will happen, with or without them, and that nothing more can be done about it. "There are several prevailing views," says Wren. "One is that the separatists are simply angry children, and that we can placate them by giving them some candy in the form of a federal program;—but above all, let's not provoke them. Another related view is that they're crazy madmen, so what can we really do about them? What people don't take into account is that these people have a very specific goal, and they are highly intelligent in pursuing it."

The odds "It's more and more difficult for the pollsters to predict the results of elections, partly because there are so many parties, but also because campaigns are very different, and this time the opposition leaders have the potential of changing the shape of the terrain. Still, it could very well end up as a Liberal majority."

That would make for good government.

Edited by  
BARBARA HICKENS



Hampson: 'a very fortunate career'

## Not just a pretty voice

The world's leading baritone, **Thomas Hampson**, is difficult to categorize. Born in Indiana, the Vienna-based singer studied political science at university before choosing a career in voice. He is an intellectual who collects rare books—and is equally at home on the pit course. And the next day, four-inch Hampson is an comfortable singing American classics and Broadway tunes as opera, which is why *21st Century Classics* recently named him Artist of the Year and chose him to narrate the company's history on a CD celebrating its 50th anniversary. Hampson, 41, has a bric-a-brac shelf, with performances from Philadelphia to Japan, and classes in California to teach the next generation of singers. "It's God's smile and further study they will make it," he says. And did God smile on Hampson? "No doubt. I am a very fortunate person for no other reason than I get to do exactly what I wanted, sing."



Janet Podolski, Clinton, Greta Podolski (not far)

## Cooks, not kooks

In creating their low-fat cookbook, *A Lowfat Kitchen*—which has sold a remarkable 115,000 copies since it was published in September—two Ottawa-born sisters, **Janet and Greta Podolski**, used a huge measure of determination. After reading that there was a need for an easy-to-read cookbook with healthy versions of con-

solid to approach Rochester, N.Y., author David Chilton, whose self-published financial planning guide, *The Wealthy Barber*, has sold more than 1.5 million copies since 1989. Chilton agreed to finance the project at his mother's urging. "She thought it was the best cookbook she had ever seen," Chilton explains. A recipe for success



Kukul: 'It felt pretty natural'

## On the comeback court

For Helen Kukul, recently participating in the U.S. Tennis Association event last week in the Woodlands, Tex., represented a major victory. In 1994, the Vancouver-based player, once ranked No. 13 in the world, left the game. Later, doctors diagnosed a benign tumor the size of a tennis ball behind her head. Now, after two operations to remove the growth, Kukul, 27, is mounting a comeback. After a first-round win in Texas, she said it "felt pretty natural" to be playing again. But she lost 6-0, 6-1 in the second round to Australian Stiebbas Drake-Brockman. "I just started to feel more and more comfortable out there," says Kukul, "because I had such a hard time juggling the ball."

## Solving the mysteries of the stars

Any Canadian who has watched the Discovery Channel's weekly astronomy show *Cosmos: History* will never look at the night sky in the same way. With a touch of Monty Python-style humor, Vancouver-based hosts **Ron Howitt-White**, 45, and **Eric Dunn**, 43—themselves veteran astronomers—study deep space from exotic locations and local backyards. Along the way, they interview local

single-edge scientists, discuss ancient mythology and sprinkle in whimsy and facts. Their aim is to appeal to both amateur and professional astronomers. "We try to pick a mystery which enables us to tell a story," says Howitt-White, "and then we try to be accurate and solve the mystery, which inevitably creates a new one." The two are eagerly anticipating the discovery that the new generation of high-powered telescopes will make. Says Howitt-White, "It makes you dread just thinking about it."

# Making their pitch

**A** 14-year-old St. Petersburg, spring home of the St. Louis Cardinals, is one of the prettier Florida ball parks, especially when it is sunny and 85°C, with a breeze tending the palm fronds beyond the outfield fences. But neither the weather nor the pleasant view of Tampa Bay were what brought hundreds of fans out early to watch batting practice. They wanted autographs—or, more specifically, Roger Clemens's autograph. The legendary fireballer, last of the Boston Red Sox, was starting for the visiting Toronto Blue Jays, and each time he tossed the diamond ball around the diamond fence trying to get his name on their programs. The unlikely ones had to take solace in a vintage Clemens performance when the game finally got under way. The 34-year-old Titan struck out seven Cardinals with his 98th-scoring fastball (a 5-0 scoreless innings). Later, he also showed his hot temper, shouting and cursing around the clubhouse when the Jays blew the lead and lost 4-2. "That's the way fans," he said after cooling off. "It doesn't matter if it's spring training—I want to win."

Winning has not been the Jays' way over the past three seasons. But if spring reveals all hopes, as the baseball season goes, then the spring of 1997 is a hopeful time not only for the Toronto team but for the league in general. League and player-association representatives finally signed a new collective bargaining agreement that, for at least five years, ends the labor wars that caused strikes and lockouts, and turned fans off the game. For the regular season that begins next week, the major leagues have tried to boost attendance by scheduling showdowns between American and National League teams. Perhaps because the assault on tradition just as they did when the American League embraced the designated hitter, but other fans apparently endorse interleague play: officials project attendance-ticket sales will rise nearly nine per cent over last year.

For Canadians, the change creates the first-ever Highway 401 series between the Blue Jays and Montreal Expos—three games that will feed the other long-standing rivalry while also highlighting the disparity between baseball's haves and have-nots. By acquiring Clemens, among others, the Jays lifted their annual player payroll to about \$60 million in a bid to win their third World Series title of the 1990s. The mid-market Expos, plagued by relatively low attendance and broadcast revenues, will rely heavily on fan anger Felipe Alou to work miracles with players paid a relatively



## The Jays and Expos: a tale of two budgets

minuscule \$22.6 million in all. In the past, the Expos have been able to survive the annual exodus of stars—gone in trade or as free agents—because talented youngsters in their minor-league system have stepped up to fill the void. But this year, the coach-kick has left the team even more suspect—and left holdovers shaking their heads. "It's hard to think about the guys we lost," says pitcher David Carrara.

Roger Clemens follows a Jays tradition. When in need, the team has signed veterans free agents—Dave Winfield for 1993, Paul Miller for 1995—who had announced that all future statistics but still lacked that elusive World Series ring. Once a Red Sox failure, Clemens was induced to join Montreal by a staggering \$30 million, three-year deal. The pitcher insists money was not why he picked the Jays over other bidders—he says he liked the team's commitment to winning, its family atmosphere and the fact he could bring his four young children to SkyDome to play when he was working out. (The kids' names—Koby, Rory, Ray and Kelly—will start with K because that is the scorekeeping symbol for strikeouts, their father's specialty.) "I wanted to go where I had a good opportunity to win in a pretty quick fashion," says Clemens, who spends the offseason at his 1,350-square-meter mansion in Pacey Point, Tex., outside Houston, complete with a collection of baseball bats and other memorabilia. "I don't know if

I'm going to hang around too long in baseball. I have four good reasons to go home—I want to watch those play ball. I never had the chance to do that with my father because he passed away when I was young."

Despite an offseason overhaul, the Jays still have notable weaknesses. Their defense is suspect, particularly in the outfield and at first base, and they do not pack as much offensive punch as their championship teams did. Still, Clemens alone should help. He is a brawny sight on the mound—with powerful shoulders and a barrel chest, he has the look and overall personality of a red-faced, no-nonsense, knee-high pit bull. Although his performance slipped last year in Boston, Jays general manager Gord Ash says Clemens fits perfectly in a starting rotation that backs Pat Hentgen, the top pitcher in the American League in 1996, and Juan Gonzalez, who had the league's lowest earned-run average. "Consistency—that's what you need to gain respect," says Hentgen, "and that's what Roger has done for 13 years. Any pitcher is going to look up to a guy like Clemens."

It may take time some time to get used to the "Blackie" in blue. Clemens once proclaimed he would never pitch in Boston in anything but a Red Sox uniform, a quote that is sure to haunt him in July when the Jays play their first 1997 series in Fenway Park. "He's one of those guys who you associate with a certain team, like Kansas City and George Brett, or Minnesota and Kirby Puckett," says Jays' slugger Jody Carter. Clemens, meanwhile, hopes to wipe out Toronto's notoriously passive crowd. "I don't want quiet," he says. "I want them to come in from work, loosen their ties and take off their jackets, get them a beer and dog or whatever, bring the little ones and get ready to yell and scream."

Sitting in his windowless office at Montreal Stadium in West Palm Beach, Felipe Alou wants to get out some straight Montreal does not have had his support. "To me, we have the

Clemens the fireballer (left). Alou has sage (right) advice: showing the disparity between baseball's haves and have-nots

best fans in baseball," he says. "Just look at the kind of players we lost over the years, and yet we still drew 13.3, 14 million people. We'll be able to see that in any city in America."

Actually, out of 14 teams in the National League, the Expos finished 13th in attendance—and nearly a million fans behind the Blue Jays. In recent years, what the Expos fans have witnessed is the departure of a veritable all-star team. But Alou has a remarkable talent for convincing fans. Most seasons, the 41-year-old native of the Dominican Republic has graded his low-budget collection of bats and caps into contention in the National League East, largely by convincing his players that if they do all the little things right, the big wins will come. "He uses the whole bench, not just key players, and he knows the game—the pitchers, the batters, how to position the infield," says Montreal scout Carmine. "He's been here forever for St. Louis and Boston. He's the best I've ever played for."

This season may be Alou's toughest test, however. Of the team that finished second in the National League East with an 88-74 win-loss record, he said goodbye to his top starting pitcher (Jeff Fassero), his closer (Mel Rojas) and even his own top-power-hitting outfielder Moises Alou. The manager hopes 25-year-old Lopeu Urbina, a hard-throwing "Yankee" who recovered from an offseason elbow surgery to fill the closer's role, and Vladimir Guerrero, a 21-year-old outfielder from the Dominican Republic, has been the swiftest season of spring training. But amid all the infield turnover, Alou—a major-league outfielder for 17 years before taking to the dugout—remains calm. "He's the guy who sets up on top of a mound," says catcher Dennis Hatcher. "People climb up and he tells them precisely on the movement of baseball."

As he tries to piece together a team, Alou is also trying to regain his health. He had two operations in the offseason, one to mitigate an enlarged prostate and the other a biopsy of a spot on his bladder that, happily, turned out to be benign. He still does not feel 100 percent, but he prefers to keep working. "That's what I've been doing since I was 28—I would like to finish my career here," he says. "I'm still healthy after



that, I think I'll go looking for it." He feels at home in Canada, partly because of its tradition of opening its doors to the world. He remembers as a boy hearing about families that escaped the brutal regime in the Dominican Republic and were welcomed into Canada. He also remembers the rare opportunity to manage he found in Montreal. "The fact that there are minority managers on the two major-league teams in Canada [Toronto's Cito Gaston being the other] has to do with the way Canada is and the kind of people there are here," he says.

Last December, Alou signed a contract extension through the 1999 season that eased worries that he, too, might leave. "We all need enough money to raise our children, and I still have young kids [aged 5 and 10], but this is my place," he says. "My wife [Lucia] is from Montreal and my children are Canadian citizens. There are some things that are more important than the \$1 million I might have made somewhere else." "I only a few of his ball players left the same way

JAMES DEACON at spring training



The winner in midair  
heaped her critics,  
outskated his rivals

## Elvis reigns again

Prize what I focus on, the marks mean nothing. I will never, ever give them control over how I live!

—Elvis Stojko, after the judges placed him fourth in the short program at the World Figure Skating Championships

Among elite-level skaters, Stojko has always been a little bit different. First, there are his unorthodoxly jazzy routines—riding dirt bikes and earning a black belt in karate. Then there is his skating, which has often been criticized for sacrificing artistry to juggling jack athleticism. And at last week's world championships in Lausanne, Switzerland, Stojko showed something else that sets him apart—extraordinary composure and self-confidence. The 35-year-old from Hungary fell. Oh, yes, he refused to be riled by his poor placing in the short program, or by the newly insurmountable lead of the three skaters—two Russians and an American—who had finished ahead of him. Instead, he skated a technically superb 4½-

minute long program, while his opponents faltered or fell victim to injury, leaving the judges no alternative but to award him his third world title in four years. "You get it from all angles," he said of the criticism. "I hear I'm not confident, my program's not up to par, I'm not as artistic as the next guy. But I put it all aside and focused on how I did."

Stojko may have turned up his critics in Lausanne, a picturesque city on the shores of Lake Geneva in the Swiss Alps. But he was not able to silence them—

### Stojko captures his third world skating title

even after landing his combination quadruple jump, a precedent-setting feat he first performed at a competition in Hamilton on March 1. As he reviled in his victory, some rivals were picking holes in his performance—"It's slow," snarled American coach Eric Scottford. "All he does is stand around"—and looking for ways to beat him at the next big showdown: the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano, Japan.

Stojko's coach, Doug Leigh, was already complaining that event. "What happened here tonight is on the whole, a completed chapter," Leigh said. "By next year, we're building towards the Olympics." Barring an injury, Stojko will be Canada's best but not only hope for a skating medal in Japan. He dances Shostakovich's Swan Lake, Bolshoi's Les Ballets, and Victor Kravtchuk's, 35, of Vancouver, continued their rise by capturing their second straight world championship bronze, behind two Russian teenagers, gold medalists Oksana Grishuk and Evgeny Platov, and the silver duo of Angelika Kryukova and Oleg Oksentchuk. "There are still things we have to learn," said Kravtchuk. "This year, we've come close but, hopefully, next year we'll pass them."

While Grishuk and Kravtchuk reach for the top, Stojko's challenge is to stay there. And that will not be easy, considering the competition he faced in Lausanne. By his own

admission, Stojko shared his best in the short program and still finished behind Alexei Urmanov of Russia, Todd Eldredge of the United States and Rossini Dye Rolli, who were all judged to be artistically superior. Stojko achieved his come-from-behind win with a technically superb long program that included eight triple jumps and the quadruple-triple combination. "It was spot on," he said later. "I couldn't have done any better."

Then there, he needed some help from his opponents—and the judges. Urmanov withdrew because of a pulled groin muscle. Eldredge, who won the silver, conceded the technical side of the contest to Stojko but not even a standing ovation, then lost on presentation as well by taking a tumble. Rolli made several errors that cost him a medal, allowing fellow Russian Nikolai Ponomarev, 17, to move up from sixth place and take the bronze. Stojko's recent dominance of the sport has triggered a vigorous debate over the place of pure athleticism in skating, even as

But Elvis could be stretched more than he is." Still, he has undoubtedly made his impact as a jump—part of Canada's long list of aerial innovations. The first was Donald Jackson, now 57 and executive-director of the Mississauga Skating Club in Ontario, who won the 1962 world championship in a program that included an unprecedented triple Lutz—in which the skater takes off and lands backwords and completes three counterclockwise rotations. Sixteen years later, while competing at the world championships, Vern Taylor performed the first triple Axel, which actually involves five rotations because the jump requires a forward takeoff and backward landing—both he finished 13th.

Order can end the nickname Mr. Triple Axel because he made that jump, in combination with the double toe loop, a standard part of international competition. The next Canadian trendsetter was Kurt Browning, who landed the first quadruple jump in a competition at the 1988 worlds, the year before he won the first of four consecutive titles. Stojko joined the club by landing the first quadruple-triple combination last, after last week's gold medal performance. He hinted that he is planning to work on even more difficult jumps—perhaps a quadruple-quadruple combination. "It's what ever you believe you can do," Stojko said. "The floor is open."

But for Elvis's room than just a jumping machine. Grar, who trained alongside him for several years at the Marjorie Winter Club in Orléans, Ont., says Stojko is a hardworking, disciplined athlete who has been the most consistent skater in the world over the past five to six years. "His mental arts training, Order adds, has undoubtedly helped him control his anxiety prior to performing, which has a serious problem for many skaters. "I used to say it's good to have butterflies before competing, as long as they're flying in formation," says Order. "And Elvis handles his nerves better than any of them." In the aftermath in Lausanne last week, a grinning Stojko talked about the satisfaction of rebounding from his poor showing at the 1995 worlds—in well as of outbalancing his critics. "I was able to push through it all," he said, "and believe in myself." The trick now will be to keep believing all the way to Nagano.

BY ARY JENISH with  
STEVE ARATINO in Lausanne



Ponomarev and Kravtchuk on a quest to overtake the Russians

more said, more top competitors leap frenetically through their programs. Elvis is an action hero in a sport that has traditionally prized elegance and a smugly expressive pose. "To some extent, the judges have plain-disrupted his style—only a fall in his short program at the 1995 worlds in Edmonton kept him from winning four straight world titles. But Stojko has also adapted—to a point. "He's definitely come a long way," says Brian Orser, two-time Olympic silver medalist and 1987 world champion. "He used to be very mechanical and rigid. Now he does have an ease to his skating." Even some people who admire Stojko, however, suggest that he could become even more graceful. "Elvis is an honest skater," says former Canadian champion Toller Cranston. "What you see is what you get.

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# Health

## Hidden disorders

A book claims many syndromes go untreated

He is a friendly type, charming and successful, he never settles down with just one woman. Cambridge words lives, been written, in women's magazines and bestselling books, trying to explain his harmful behavior. He is counterintuitive, claims one theory. He had an overbearing mother. He is just a jerk. But to psychiatrist John Ratey, an assistant professor at Harvard Medical School in Cambridge, Mass., there is another explanation for that man's behavior, one based on flawed brain biology rather than flawed personality. Such men do not commit, Ratey suggests, because they cannot—they are suffering, he says, from a mild form of attention deficit disorder. Easily distracted and impulsive, such people cannot stay focused long enough to form deep attachments.

According to Ratey, mild ADD is just one example of a range of hidden disorders, which, even though they are not full-blown neuropsychological diseases, can still wreak serious havoc on the lives of sufferers and people close to them. *Shadow Syndromes*, a new book he co-wrote with Los Angeles psychologist Catherine Johnson, describes people who have only a few symptoms of a disorder that is usually defined by 10 or more. In particular, the book looks at mild versions of depression, anxiety, rage, disorder, autism and attention surplus disorders such as anxiety, addictions and obsessive-compulsive disorder, as well as ADD. A typical example of someone with mild autism, for instance, is the computer nerd who is good, even brilliant, at his work but is lacking in the social game.

"Too much with interpersonal relationships," says Ratey, "stems from an inability to read body language, facial expressions and other non-verbal cues—skills other people take for granted."

The concept of shadow syndromes, or "sub-syndromal syndromes" as medical parlance, is not new. But as with most medical



Ratey: a new look at mild versions of depression, rage, autism, anxiety and other conditions

conditions, the most severe forms tend to be recognized and dealt with first. The dancily depressed woman on the verge of suicide is going to be diagnosed and receive treatment before the mildly depressed woman who lives in her children, or the chronically irritated with her husband, and just generally feels stressed out. But mild disorders still need and deserve treatment, says Ratey. "You wouldn't refuse to fix a hairline fracture just because it wasn't a compound break of a bone."

What usually sends a person with a mild disorder in search of help, he says, is "the misery quotient"—the individual's own or his or her family's. Ratey describes one patient who had tried everything from meditation to joining Alcoholics Anonymous to try to control his bouts of rage. But even though he could keep it together at work, late upsets at home would start him yelling at his

wife and daughter. He finally sought treatment when he realized just how badly he was frightening his little girl. The tantrums stopped after Ratey prescribed the antidepressant desipramine.

But while *Shadow Syndromes* may prove interesting—or alarming—reading for those who see themselves, friends or family members in its pages, Ratey's peers may take more convincing. Bialyst psychiatriest Haden Bush agrees that people "fall between the cracks" because they suffer from atypical forms of disorders. "It's very painful to know you can do better and not be able to do so," he says. But, Bush cautions, doctors must be meticulous in making a diagnosis, and therefore labeling someone.

Ratey and Johnson are well qualified to bring shadow syndromes to light. Ratey suffers from mild ADD, which he has written about previously in the best-selling *Driven to Distraction* (1994) and *Attention Deficit Disorder* (1996). Johnson says she became interested because of her own experience with depression and her son's diagnosis as mildly autistic.

Part of their goal in writing the book, Ratey says, is to help people recognize that some of their problems may be caused by minor flaws in their brain's structure or chemistry. Understanding that, they can stop blaming themselves for their difficulties as day-to-day living and focus instead on the physical problem. But Ratey wants to make it clear that the book is no way condoning bad behavior. "It is a call to action," he says. "We hope it will allow people to become realistic for what they do think, and why they do them, and do something about it."

Fortunately, there are remedies, as is Ratey's point, "people can use their mind to overcome the deficits in their brain." For many conditions discussed in the book, the antidepressant Prozac, or similar prescription drugs that act on the brain's serotonin transmitters, may prove helpful. Other conditions may be treatable with therapy that teaches positive effective thoughts and behavior. But the most significant change people can make by themselves is to establish and stick to an exercise program. "Everybody knows that they feel better after they exercise," Ratey says, "and our research has linked exercise to sharpened memory, improved attention and decreased anxiety." The important thing, he adds, is to keep trying. "Each patient," says Ratey, "is an empirical study of one, to see what works."

BARBARA WICKENS

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## Nature's medicines

Mixing the news as beneficial foods: tomatoes (top), grapes (middle) and that perennial favorite—the sweet red wine—also.

According to University of Toronto nutritionist Verkeri Rao, a year-long study shows that processed tomatoes—in ketchup, pasta sauce and tomato soup—are good for the heart and can cut the risk of cancer. His research, partly funded by Heinz Canada, found that lycopene—granules that give tomatoes their distinctive red color—reduces cell damage and DNA mutations, the likely causes of most chronic diseases. Lycopene is more easily absorbed from cooked tomatoes than from the raw form, Rao added.

Also good for the heart is a daily glass of grape juice, reports Dr. John Polak of the University of Wisconsin Medical School. Juice from purple grapes has a po-

tent effect on blood cells called platelets, making them less likely to form clots that can lead to heart attacks. Polak concluded after a six-month study funded in part by the Concord, Mass.-based juice company Welch Foods Inc. Experimenting on 18 volunteers, including himself, Polak found that both Asparta and real wine slow the activity of blood platelets by about 40 percent, while apple grape juice dampens them by about 65 percent. Other research has associated grape juice and red wine with positive health effects.

As for salt, research at the Harvard Hospital in Connecticut suggests that increased intake can relieve symptoms of chronic kidney syndrome in some people. Of 37 subjects examined in a study, 31 were on low-salt diets for no medical reason. Dr. Sanyal Gennipoulos. After 40 days, 51 percent reported that their kidney symptoms were at least partly relieved.



## The dollar difference

Fees paid to Canadian medical procedures are much less than rates for the same services in the United States, according to data compiled by the Canadian Medical Association and the Canadian Institute for Health Information, an Ottawa-based supplier of health-related information to the industry. The following chart compares median fees at Canadian practitioners in 1992 to U.S. median (in Canadian dollars) in 1989. What accounts for the sometimes astonishing differences? Poorly government control and copying of Canadian fees, compared with the market-driven U.S. system. "These members are no surprise to us," says Dr. Gary Reinwald, president of the Canadian Medical Association. "They're one of the main reasons why practitioners are leaving for the States en masse."

SPERMATOPHYTES	PROSTATE	DIABETES	U.S. FEE
Cardiac catheterization	valve replacement	\$1,227	\$6,496
General surgery	varicose veins (laser)	\$1,628	\$7,857
General surgery	hyperthyroidism	\$780	\$1,290
	radical mastectomy	\$437	\$2,332
	breast tumor excision	\$118	\$750
Internal medicine	electrocardiogram	\$18	\$61
	liver biopsy	\$60	\$323
Obstetrics	normal delivery	\$437	\$2,580
	caesarean delivery	\$507	\$3,996
Orthopedic surgery	hip replacement	\$954	\$5,428
	knee replacement	\$588	\$5,343
Podiatry	heel spur removal	\$33	\$129
Neurology (stroke surgery)	none specified	\$404	\$2,670
	none specified	\$181	\$1,885

## Global progress . . .

The World Health Organization announced significant breakthroughs in the treatment of tuberculosis and four tropical diseases, including leprosy. Because of the TB development, the Geneva-based agency said, a worldwide epidemic is leveling off for the first time in decades. It will now be possible to prevent some 10 million deaths around the globe in the next decade alone, the WHO said. Known as DOTs, or Directly Observed Treatment Short courses, the new treatment method combines multi-drug therapy with follow-up care to make it nearly certain that every TB patient treated is cured. WHO director general Hiroshi Nakajima called DOTs "the biggest health breakthrough of the decade, in terms of the lives we will be able to save." TB killed almost three million people in 1995.

A WHO report also said that investment in cheap drugs and new vaccines could eradicate four other diseases within a decade. With one-dose treatment for hepatitis to be available later this year, the agency estimated it would cost \$550 million over the next four years to eliminate that severely deforming disease, which affects about one million new people annually. New treatments, insecticides and methods of tracking diseases could also rid the world of three parasite-borne afflictions. Chagas disease, which has infected about 18 million people in Latin America and kills 45,000 through heart failure annually, river blindness, which has infected about 18 million people, mostly in Africa and Latin America, and lymphatic filariasis, which causes gross swelling of the limbs and has afflicted about 120 million people in south Asia.

## . . . global alert

The world's have-nots would take the worst hit if the global climate changes significantly, according to experts addressing a Brussels conference called The Impact of Climate Change on Business and Industry. Their consensus: disease and hunger would wipe out millions of people in poor countries and economic fallout would damage emerging nations, but developed countries would remain relatively unaffected. The science behind the theory of global warming has not been universally accepted, however, and economic predictions of what, if anything, will happen remain elusive. "The physics is so complex, it is still not possible to come to firm conclusions," said Thomas Downing, program leader for the Oxford-based Environmental Change Unit.

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## Education NOTES

### New lessons in homophobia

Supporters described it as an attempt to "mainline education to lesbian and gay issues." But when the B.C. Teachers' Federation adopted a motion last week to create special resource materials on battling homophobia, their opponents saw red. "If I was asked to protect and comfort children who were being harassed for whatever reason, I could do that," said Vernon teacher Suzanne Hall. "But if I was asked to teach something I believe is wrong then I can't do that." Proponents of the motion noted that the Calgary Board of Education adopted guidelines last month that require schools to ensure gay staff and students "a safe and secure learning environment," and that since 1992 the Toronto Board of Education has encouraged teachers to use its resource guide, *Small Openings: Focus on Homosexuality, Lesbianism and Homophobia*. For Murray Warren, a teacher in the Vancouver suburb of Coquitlam, where trustees voted a motion in late February to provide counselling and services for gay students, the federation decision was long overdue. "Gay kids get beaten up, harassed, hounded out of houses and schools," says Warren, who notes that social-service groups estimate 40 per cent of Vancouver street kids are gay. "These resources will help teachers feel good on with a troubling issue."



Vancouver protesters claim that gay students who are harassed, hounded

### Clues in an arctic oasis

They are biologically rich feeding and breeding grounds for immense populations of fish, birds and sea mammals. And scientists are hoping that polynyas—huge areas of water that open seasonally amid the vast ice fields of the Arctic—may hold important clues to the phenomenon of global warming, especially given their capacity to trap and store significant amounts of carbon dioxide. As of this week, polynyas will become the subject of an ambitious international study headed by researchers at McGill University in Montreal and Laval University in Quebec City. The four-year, \$34-million project will include 30 scientists from seven Canadian universities, as well as academics in such countries as the United States, Japan and Denmark. Their main focus: the North Water Polynya, an 80,000-square-kilometre area located between Greenland and Canada's Baffin Island that opens every April. "A polynya is like an oasis in the desert," says Louis Fortin, director of the Laval-McGill Ocean Research Centre, who will also head the international study. "They are an essential element within the arctic ecosystem which, until now, we have known little about."

### Post-snowstorm parental testiness

When Ontario launched a 10-day math and language arts test for 1,600,000 Grade 3 students last week, it joined the four western provinces, Quebec and New Brunswick in making standardized exams a part of public education. But while the Ontario Parent Council welcomed the test as "a first step towards accountability," teachers and parents in Manitoba were celebrating an announcement by Education Minister Linda MacInnes that will allow students to dodge the results of a recent provincewide Grade 12 math exam. Administered last December, when much of the province was deluged by snowstorms, the test, which traditionally accounts for 30 per cent of final grades, was written by only 60 per cent of students. Noting that four in 10 of those failed—while so many other students were exempted due to the weather—angry parents demanded the results be scrapped. Among them was Sandy Coustoun, who drove her son Chris through blizzard conditions to write the test at Cooles Plains Regional Secondary School in Brandon. "The province may think we're crybabies," says Coustoun. "But if you're competing for university scholarships, you can't afford bad marks."

### Class conflict rocks the ivory tower

Professors at York University in Toronto put down their pens and held up pocket signs last week, as 1,050 full-time faculty and librarians walked off the job, closing down at least 60 per cent of classes at Canada's third-largest university. Money is a central working issue, although full-time professors take home average annual wages of about \$70,000. York salaries have fallen from fourth-to-fifth place among 18 Ontario universities in the past decade. The union is also seeking smaller class sizes, and is looking at an attempt by the administration to force professors to retire at 65, by which time average salaries hit \$97,000. The policy issue of retirement is also threatening to erupt at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, where those who continue teaching beyond 49 receive both salaries and university pensions. Among those who do so are 13 professors in their 70s who collectively cost the university \$1.2 million a year. Meanwhile, 270 service workers at the University of Windsor in southwestern Ontario, who have been on strike since Feb. 18, shut down classes for one day last week with a rally that included roughly 400 supporters from unions in Windsor and Detroit.

# Betrayed by the body

A cataclysmic illness yields a compelling read

**SLOW DANCE: A STORY OF STROKE, LOVE AND DISABILITY**

By Bonnie Sherr Klein  
(Knopf; 262 pages, \$29.95)

An accomplished National Film Board director, Bonnie Sherr Klein would never have cast herself in such a difficult role. But in real life, drama simply unfolds—there are no auditions and no script revisions, even when the plot goes awry. “I was the woman who had it all,” writes Klein in *Slow Dance: A Story of Stroke, Love and Disability*—a memoir that begins with a memory of a romantic interlude with her husband at a cabin in the Vermont woods. “Michael and I canoed the Mississippi River, skinny-dipped in our hamper-made pond, and made love in the morning light,” she writes. “It was Monday, Aug. 3, 1987.” The next day, on a bicycle outing, Klein was almost overcome by exhaustion. By evening, her vision was blurred, she had difficulty talking and she could barely stand up. “The symptoms so alarmed her husband that he rushed her to the emergency room of Mount Sinai’s Jewish General Hospital, where he was then chief of family medicine. “I expected a discussion and a quick solution,” writes Klein. “I never imagined that I would lose my foot in my home again for many months.”

Klein, then 65, had suffered the first of two strokes. A second, nearly fatal one followed two weeks later, leaving her almost completely paralyzed, unable to walk, talk and, for a time, even breathe. More staggering than most “survivor” literature, *Slow Dance*, co-edited by Vancouver writer Penicemon Blackbridge, is a gritty and poignant account of the devastating illness that left Klein permanently disabled. Klein’s journals—beginning as soon as she could hold a pen—form the heart of the book. But frequent turns to the voices of family, friends, doctors, nurses and physiotherapists, and even to her hospital chaplain, make *Slow Dance* a truly one-of-a-kind story. “Patient can’t talk today. Words to die. Attempted to reassure. Patient asked us to tell her, wants to sleep tonight. Added 1 mg.” Klein—director of *Not a Love Story*, her award-winning 1981 documentary on paraplegics—provides an unvarnished take on the often degrading reality of physical

disability and her own visceral revulsion at her “inside, spastic body,” as well as the complex and very human reactions of her husband and two children, Seth and Naomi, then 10 and 17.

Klein does not gloss over the strains that her sudden disability placed on her marriage. She notes the all-too-common statistics that as many as 90 per cent of husbands leave disabled wives and nearly 50 per cent of wives desert disabled husbands. Klein



Klein, an accomplished filmmaker, took on the reality of physical disability.

herself was troubled with doubt, jealousy and self-pity. “This isn’t what you bargained for when we got married,” she tells her husband. “Why should you be burdened with me?” On another occasion, she wonders, “Is it fair I see in Michael’s eyes when he faces with impatience at my constant needs?” But Michael’s colleagues later tell her that he did his “crying in the office, then he’d pull himself together and run the hospital aside out for you.” Klein remembers teaching examples of his devotion. “Michael brought me strawberry yogurt and gently stroked my throat to soothe it down,” she recalls. More outrageously, she tells how they once made love in her hospital bed. “I was totally not cool and so totally embarrassed,” writes Klein. “I didn’t think this kind of thing was allowed in a hospital.”

Slow Dance is often funny, graceful and funny. When a visiting rabbi asks Klein how he can help, an uncomfortable and momentary Klein responds, “Rob my ass.” But Klein—who spent seven months in hospital and another two years in rehabilitation—also offers some subtle patient’s insights into the health-care system. She is often critical of the generally well-meaning, but frequently humbling, health-care workers who discussed her fears and dashed what they called her “false hopes” of returning to normal. “I’ll was feeling overwhelmed,” writes Klein, “what about somebody who doesn’t have a physician in the family?” She also praises some, overworked heroes such as George, the mouthclosed orderly whose “old world galantry” made Klein “feel like a queen”—and inspired the title of her book. “He would say, ‘Want to dance with me?’” writes Klein. “And then he’d lift me and sing ‘Now we dance’ as he helped me pivot onto the toilet.”

The pace slackens in the final chapters of *Slow Dance*. As Klein nears the end of her rehabilitation, gradually assuming the role of rights activist for the disabled, the narrative becomes somewhat repetitive. There is also an occasional hint of pessimism, as when Klein—overlooked at a feminists’ conference—takes her organizers to task in print. But these are small missteps in an otherwise engaging book. It is well worth dancing through a few too many pages to share Klein’s insights, as well as her own brand of peace and joy. Klein now lives in Vancouver, where she accompanies around English Bay on two canoes or Gladys, her motorized scooter. “Life,” she writes, “is sweet and full and precious in a way I had never known before.”

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# For the Record

## Wilderness symphonies

The creator of Solitudes heeds the call of nature

It's a clearing in Ontario's Algonquin Provincial Park late one summer night. Dan Gibson stood in the darkness, listening intently and holding a large microphone in the general direction of a group of howling great horned owls. Suddenly, a rustling in the grass told him that he was not the only one investigating the strange behavior of certain species. "You never see them, but if the young are around, the adult wolves get curious and come around to see what's going on," says the 70-year-old naturalist and wildlife recording pioneer. "They're coming to sniff you out. I keep telling myself if they won't bother me, and they don't—they're quite harmless as far as humans are concerned. But it's an awe-inspiring experience."

Gibson has had more than his share of such experiences in half a century of collecting wildlife sounds for film sound tracks and audio recordings. His Solitudes label is celebrating 10 years of putting nature sounds, with and without music, on 48 albums. Now having released more than 100 titles, the label has sold more than six million CDs and tapes.



Gibson: Documenting species that are disappearing because of human development

the support of his wife, Helen, and their four children, all of whom have been involved in various ways with Solitudes. His company is currently run, says son Gordon along with Andy Burgess.

As his library of sounds grew, so did both the ecology movement and the natural audio industry. Gibson soon began selling albums of carefully orchestrated, regionally specific nature sounds. "Some people say we should just put our microphones out there and let them ride, and that is true nature," Gibson says. "Well, it really isn't, because microphones do all kinds of funny things. The engineer, and the art, is in putting together your interpretation of what you heard when you were out there. It's very much like making a film."

His recordings, he insists, retain the authentic regional sound. "If you know your biology, and you know that, say,

only certain birds belong in an Algonquin Park forest, those are the birds you're going to put there. If you're in a forest, you know what birds should be in that forest. And if I'm out there, I put on the phone to my friends at the Royal Ontario Museum and get myself straightened out."

While Gibson is understandably concerned that his wilderness sounds contain the correct species, many listeners wouldn't notice a sound in out of place as a lone call on the Serengeti Plain. That's because they use the recordings in relaxation tools to alleviate the stress of city life. And although sales of Solitudes albums boomed when Gibson began a selling soothing contemporary and classical music with wildlife sounds in 2000, he maintains that the growing appeal is still in connection with the natural world. "I think everybody into some degree tuned in to nature—they relate the outside doors to their inner doors and their holidays, as opposed to the checklist of an office."

He says "Music has always been relaxing to where you coordinate it with nature sounds—particularly if your selections are not heavy-handed—you've got two things going for you." Under tension, there may be another use for the recordings—as documents of species that are rapidly disappearing because of human development. "Over the years, I've noticed a common climate," Gibson says. "The Indigo Bunting is a beautiful bird, and at one time you could find them all over Algonquin. Now, it's quite rare to find one, and there are fewer cone-breasted grackles, scarlet tanagers and warblers." The naturalist attributes the decline to drastic changes in the tropics, the birds' winter habitat. "The lumber industry is getting heavy down there, the winter ranges are changing and it's showing up in these species. It's very sad."

Still, Gibson sees the current proliferation of nature TV shows and recordings on a positive sign. "It was always my ambition to buy and broaden public appreciation of nature," says Gibson. "And maybe to a certain degree we're getting through. You get people and dogs at interest, but it's important to me. Nature is something we live with and something we need to live with, and there's always a place for it." If Gibson has his way, that is not likely to change anytime soon.

MARY DOCKRE

# Films



## Dramatic deep freeze

Dramat: Greenland looks stunning, but the plot creaks along with the pacing of pack ice

**SMILLA'S SENSE OF SNOW**  
Directed by Lone Scherfig

It has all the trappings of its important Motion Picture. *Smilla's Sense of Snow* is based on the 1995 bestseller by Danish best-selling author, a richly cinematic thriller with literary overtones. *The New Yorker* called the book "profoundly intelligent," and *Britain's New Statesman* proclaimed it "an Arctic tale worthy of Coen." Residing a blizzard of Hollywood cliché, *Smilla* took the high road and used the rights to Danish writer Peter Høeg's 1992 novel. The Oscar-winning director of such classy films as *Pelle the Conqueror*. There was every reason to expect that the movie might do far more than what *The English Patient* has done so far. It is a dramatic, intelligent, and beautiful movie. *Smilla's Sense of Snow* is a profoundly understated movie, a poem as a thriller with a convoluted plot that creaks in its climax with the pacing of pack ice.

The film's one redeeming factor is some spectacular location shooting. The story begins and ends in Greenland, where the opening scene shows a 19th-century Arctic explorer on the glacial landscape with a catastrophic explosion. Cut to contemporary Copenhagen. A young hunt boy has mysteriously taken his last breath in a apartment rooftop. *Smilla* (Julie Orlov), a blond and athletic, takes one glance at his footprints in the snow on the roof and suspects foul play. Half-Greenlandic hunt and half-Danish

cin, *Smilla* is an Arctic expert. She knows snowmobile out. And soon she is uncovering a sinister conspiracy involving a mining company responsible for the death of the boy's father in Greenland.

The plot inches little room for anything else. The secondary characters are all shallow. *Smilla's Sense of Snow* is out of the movie like a thief in the night—he partners the Mischke. *Smilla's* would-be protector and lover who may or may not be one of the bad guys. As the story unfolds, Richard Harris plays a villain who barely bothers to show up. Robert Loggia, director in the role of *Smilla's* father, a beaver hunter with a brain on his arm. And Vanessa Redgrave contributes a boring cameo.

The movie reveals almost nothing about *Smilla's* character. And she is mindlessly aware of her surroundings, the director that who lost starred in *Solenne*, is clearly stressed as the half-film. She tries so hard to be the tough, forbidding, enigmatic ice queen that the character escapes her. The main culprit, however, is the script by John Brannstrom. Instead of such formula thrillers as *Copland* and *Prison Break*, it shows Denmark a few moments of self-reflection, some ruminations on the beauty of truth and snow. But *Smilla* spends most of her time in a hectic and mouse pursuit. She is one long black-leather woman, in *Smilla's* with an ace pack—a female *Marshall* of the North.

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# Fall Fotheringham

## On the beach with bathtub beauties

So, I am to the lovely young lady with the perfect Hollywood accent that she pitches and creans, helped along by the usual (but not so usual) French accent and a fine job in London's financial district, how does a nice English girl like you get a name like Nicole?

"Because," she replies without blinking, "I was conceived in an empty French bathtub."

Since that is an event better to be imagined than described, we quickly move along the conversation at breakneck to the shape of the clouds and the quality of the look for the best day ahead. We are looking out from the patio at a sea that is as tranquil as Gene Tierney's eyes and a white beach tint stretches to the horizon.

This would be the Club Med at Columbus Isle on the bay off of San Salvador in the Bahamas. It's summer camp for adults. No rules. No money. No tips. Just laughs. They come free.

There is Claudia. She is from northern Italy. She claims to be a doctor in tropical diseases. Late 30s, one would think. I see, how did you get here? "By plane." There is a silence. "What is your religion?" she asks. Not having been encountered with such a question for some decades, I try to figure out an answer—"I am an atheist." "Are you a Jew?" she demands.

Claudia arrives on the island courts to what appears to be her underwear. She has no idea how to play and stomps off in a huff. "The English have a word for someone like that," I explain to Marcus, the tall and handsome tennis pro. "She is called 'a caution.'" Marcus says, "In the States we have a word for someone like that. It's called 'a douché'."

This is possibly what Gerald Rife, a Belgian, had in mind back in 1850 when he and a few friends just so happened to meet and with several jag teeth went off to a holiday on the island of Hispaniola off Spain. The concept of people who hate books and movies and tips has now grown to more than 100 Club Med sites around the globe, from Bora Bora to Copper Mountain, Colorado and there's never a shortage of a Claudia or Rife Jim.

Rife Jim is from Chicago. He looks like he comes from Chicago. The perfect summer individual. Thirty-five years with one employee, a lightning-fast fire. He has been to several Club



NO TENSION

Medis. He has worked at each one of them and he is disgraced, disgraced. At the summer camp for adults, the inmates are divided between the G.M.'s (young members or gracious members) and G.O.s (grumpy members)—an international staff of hinds and house sies. Each night, the G.O.s get on a stage professional show of skills and talents. On the final night, the G.M.'s have their own show, your chance to shine in one of yours! I question you have to be there.

Rife Jim is upset because the G.M. show has been cancelled. He is mortified. He means to do it, he is mortified. He goes to management. And so, on rock 'n' roll night with wild John DeLoria's instructions, Rife Jim arrives onstage with his own arrangements, his own rock-and-roll backup and sings (and he sings) his after-dinner trick. He is very good. We give him a standing O.

There is Ira, stockbroker from Paris with sad eyes. He has just been to Toronto to resolve a love affair. "I had no heart," he concludes. We tell him, "See you later, Algeria. After a while, 'couscous,'" and he thanks it a pickup line and a new identity and unconsciously—always Claudia appears, wearing yellow leather leggings, leered up the back in jeans. "When's the wedding?" says Marcus.

There is Shelley, from London. One of the G.O.s who at noon each day conducts an ethics in the pool and the type of body Jane Fonda had before she married Ted Turner. One night, in the elaborate Nudist show, she is carried in on a sedan chair wearing a bejewelled bikini and a large feathered headdress than Cleopatra ever saw. The University of Western Ontario was never like this. Columbus Isle was never like this.

Columbus Isle was never like this. It was opened five years ago, the 500th anniversary of when Christopher C. supposedly landed on this very spot. The finest tennis players are elderly French gentlemen with superb manners—and all of the court. At luncheon night, Rife Jim regresses and sings a post-modern woe.

There is Anelia, a G.O. from North York whose family wants her house and married but they don't understand. There are the two divorce lawyers from Washington, she single at 30 with the longest legs at Columbus Isle and he divorced at 44 with a 17-year-old daughter and they got a problem.

There is a resident population of 800 on the island. One-third of them work for Club Med. One-third of them are children. It is unclear what the other camp third is. There are 17 churches for the 800. The back opens only on Fridays.

There is bartender Marcus from Ottawa whose promising career headed for the NHL was ruined as a passenger in a car accident. There is Nancy from Montreal, a G.O. who is going to a Club Med in Geneva to chase a man she met six weeks ago.

At the summer camp for adults, the food is endless, the wine is free, there are no tips and that bathtub, it seems, was apparently full—the staff—before the subsequent activities that led to Nicole's fall—into

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